

Greek papyri from Gurob / ed. by J. Gilbert Smyly.

Dublin : Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1921.

<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo.31924029681321>

HathiTrust



www.hathitrust.org

**Public Domain in the United States,
Google-digitized**

http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#pd-us-google

We have determined this work to be in the public domain in the United States of America. It may not be in the public domain in other countries. Copies are provided as a preservation service. Particularly outside of the United States, persons receiving copies should make appropriate efforts to determine the copyright status of the work in their country and use the work accordingly. It is possible that current copyright holders, heirs or the estate of the authors of individual portions of the work, such as illustrations or photographs, assert copyrights over these portions. Depending on the nature of subsequent use that is made, additional rights may need to be obtained independently of anything we can address. The digital images and OCR of this work were produced by Google, Inc. (indicated by a watermark on each page in the PageTurner). Google requests that the images and OCR not be re-hosted, redistributed or used commercially. The images are provided for educational, scholarly, non-commercial purposes.

AS
122
D85
C9++
v.12

AS
122
D85C9++
v. 12

CORNELL
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY



Cornell University Library
AS122.D65 C9 v.12
++
Greek papyri from Gurob / ed. by J. Glib
3 1924 029 681 321
Olin Overs

Royal Irish Academy.

CUNNINGHAM MEMOIRS—No. XII.

GREEK PAPYRI FROM GUROB.

GREEK PAPYRI FROM GUROB.

EDITED BY

J. GILBART SMYLY, LITT.D.,

*FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE AND REGIUS PROFESSOR OF GREEK
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.*

WITH TWO PLATES.



DUBLIN: HODGES, FIGGIS, & CO.

LONDON: WILLIAMS & NORGATE.

1921.

AS
122
1000000
V. 12

271298B
X

DUBLIN
Printed at the University Press,
BY PONSONBY AND GIBBS.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Preface, ...	vii	XVIII. Memoranda of an Inspector, ...	32
I. Ritual of the Mysteries, ...	1	XIX. Payment of Soldiers, ...	33
II. The Court of Ten, ...	11	XX. Official Letter, ...	34
III. Taxes, ...	18	XXI. Official Letter, ...	35
IV. Transport of Corn, ...	19	XXII. List of Sheep and Goats, ...	36
V. Petition to the Comarch, ...	19	XXIII. Rent of Ergasteria, ...	39
VI. Official Letter, ...	20	XXIV. Taxing Account, ...	41
VII. Transfer of Debt, ...	21	XXV. Corn Account, ...	43
VIII. Robbery of a Vineyard, ...	23	XXVI. Land Reports, ...	43
IX. Assault on Serambus, ...	24	XXVII. Assessment of Persons, ...	46
X. Temple Property, ...	25	XXVIII. Accounts, ...	51
XI. Official Letter, ...	27	XXIX. Accounts, ...	52
XII. Date of Philopator, ...	27		
XIII. Order to collect Debts, ...	29	Indices—	
XIV. Receipt, ...	30	I. Geographical, ...	55
XV. Receipt, ...	30	II. Personal Names, ...	55
XVI. Receipt, ...	31	III. General Index of Greek	
XVII. List of Persons, ...	31	Words, ...	57

PREFACE.

THE papyri contained in this Memoir were extracted by me from some mummy cartonnage given to me by Professor Grenfell, who had obtained it some years ago in Egypt. Unfortunately most of the papyri in this cartonnage proved to be written in demotic, and none was in very good condition. It was immediately evident that they came from the same source as the Petrie papyri, for several of them deal with the same events, and in one case the new fragments join directly on to those of the Petrie collection. This does not necessarily imply that they come from the same mummy, for among the unpublished Tebtunis papyri there are many instances of pieces of the same document being found in two, or even three, different mummy cases; but the cartonnage must have been manufactured at the same time and in the same factory.

My thanks are due to the Royal Irish Academy for permitting me to produce these papyri in the same form as the three volumes of the Petrie papyri, to which they form the natural sequel; to Dr. Grenfell, not only for the cartonnage from which they are derived, but also for comparing most of my copies with the originals; and to Dr. Hunt, who read the proofs, and made many valuable suggestions.

The two most important papyri, No. I., a fragment of a Ritual of the Mysteries, and No. II., which contains the larger part of a second copy of the report of a lawsuit, and removes many of the difficulties of interpretation raised by the very difficult and imperfect first copy, published in the Petrie papyri, have been reproduced in two excellent plates, which are the work of the Oxford University Press.

J. GILBART SMYLY.

I.

RITUAL OF THE MYSTERIES.

PLATE I. Third cent. B.C.

ON this scrap of papyrus is preserved part of a column from a roll which originally contained a Ritual of the Mysteries. The column of writing is torn down the middle, so that nothing is left but the ends of thirty lines, and a few letters of the beginnings of the lines of the next column. Though no continuous sense can be made out, it is clear that we have parts of two prayers, the description of a sacrifice of a ram and a goat, a number of mystic symbols, and a list of the contents of the basket. It is not easy to determine to what form of the Mysteries this ritual belongs; for, even in this short space, there are references to things supposed to be peculiar to most of the different cults. There are some expressions which seem to be distinctly Eleusinian: the first prayer contains the words "Save me, Brimo," and one of the dramatic representations at Eleusis is said to have been the Sacred Marriage of Zeus and Demeter, which was terminated by the proclamation, "Our Lady Brimo has given birth to Brimos, the holy child." Demeter, characteristic of Eleusis, is addressed in the same breath as, if not identified with, Rhea, the great goddess of the Cretan and Phrygian mysteries: an identification which, according to some accounts, was also made in the Orphic and Samothracian mysteries. The armed Curetes, the attendants of Rhea, or of Dionysus Zagreus, are also mentioned. This prayer is followed by a description of the sacrifice of a ram and a he-goat; part of the latter was to be eaten, and it is specially stated that the profane should not witness the ceremony. It is known from other sources that the he-goat was specially connected with Dionysus, and a ram's head seems to have been one of the attributes of Sabazius. Clement of Alexandria, however, refers to the ram in connexion with the marriage of Demeter at Eleusis; but Psellus, describing the same rite, says that it was a he-goat. The papyrus mentions both. This is followed by another prayer in which Eubouleus, an Eleusinian or Orphic personage, is invoked. The prayer names Demeter and Pallas also, and probably refers to Erikepaios, who was distinctively Orphic. Then comes the statement,

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

[1]

"Dionysus is one," a characteristically Orphic expression, immediately followed by a reference to *σύμβολα*, the secret phrases or pass-words of the mysteries. One of these is *θεὸς διὰ κόλπου*, which is said by Clement to have been a *σύμβολον* of those initiated into the mysteries of Sabazius: it was a snake which was drawn across the body of the candidate under his clothing. There are one or two obscure lines, after which the fragment ends with a list of the things which should be placed in the basket: these were a top, a humming-top, knuckle-bones, a rattle, and a mirror. The list, as far as it goes, is identical with that given, some four and a half centuries later, by Clement of Alexandria. On the whole, there are more correspondences with what we know of the Orphic system than with any of the other rites; but this may be because we know more about that system. The papyrus may be taken as an indication, either that the various forms of the mysteries had more in common than has generally been supposed, or that the process of syncretism, or amalgamation, had already advanced very far in the early part of the third century B.C.

The Ritual was written in prose, but there seem to be many fragments of verse embedded in it: thus *Δήμητέρ τε Πέα* (l. 6) and *Κουρήτες τε ἔνοπλοι* (l. 7, cf. *Orph. Hymn Eὐχῆ*: *Κουρήτάς τ' ἐνόπλους Κορύβαντάς τ' ἠδὲ Καβείρους*) may be the beginnings, and *κριὸς τε τράγος τε* (l. 10), *ἀπερίσια δῶρα* (l. 11), *Δήμητρος καὶ Παλλάδος ἡμῖν* (l. 21), and *εἷς Διόνυσος* (l. 23) may be the ends of hexameters.

On palæographical grounds the papyrus must be assigned to an earlier date than the other papyri in this volume, and probably belongs to the first half of the third century B.C.

] ας ταε . . . να ευρηι

]ωμα . . . υν λεγε

] διοτοκιν τελετην

]ετεμον ποινας πατ

]σωισομ με Βριμω με

5

]Δημητερ τε Ρεα

]Κουρητες τε ενοπλοι

]ωμεν

]να ποιωμεν ιερα καλα

] νηι κριος τε τραγος τε

10

]απερυσια δωρα
]. ου καὶ ἐπὶ ποταμου νομωι
]ανων του τραγου
]τα δε λοῦ[[^{τα}κρα]] κρεα εσθιετω
]ος μη εφορατω 15
]λλου αναθεις εις το ανηιρε
]αλων ευχη
]νον και Ευβουλεα καλω
]. ας Ευιηας κικλησχω
]. [.]ιτοφιλους συ απαυανας 20
 Δ]ημητρος και Παλλαδος ημιν
]λευ Πικεπαιγε σωισομ με
]ιτα εις Διονυσος συμβολα
]ηρα θεος δια κολπου
]. ρ[.]ν επιον ονος βουκολος 25
]γιας συνθεμα ανω κατω τοις
]ς διο σοι εδοθη ανηλωσαι
 ε]ις τον καλαθον εμβαλιν
 κ]ωνος ρομβος αστραγαλοι
]η εσοπτρος 30

3. The first three lines are so much obliterated that it is impossible to guess their meaning. If *διοτοκιν* = *διοτοκεῖν* is rightly read, we may compare for the form such words as *διδυμοτοκεῖν* and *σκωληκοτοκεῖν*, and for the spelling *εμβαλιν* in l. 28. It may, perhaps, refer to Rhea giving birth to Zeus.

4. *ἔτεμον* is possibly part of one of the *σύμβολα*, the passwords or mystic formulæ, the knowledge of which entitled the initiate to the favour of the gods. They are generally cast in the first person, which is an indication that the initiate had personally gone through a symbolic ceremony in imitation of some event in the story of the god. In the Eleusinian mysteries the Hierophant underwent a mock mutilation in a dramatic representation of the marriage of Zeus and Demeter. Hippolytus, *Philosoph.* v. 1, tells us that the self-mutilation of the Hierophant was not

[1']

real, but that temporary impotence was produced by means of hemlock, and that the result of this symbolic marriage was proclaimed in the words: "The Lady Brimo has given birth to the holy child Brimos":—αὐτὸς ὁ ἱεροφάντης, οὐκ ἀποκεκομμένος μὲν, ὡς ὁ Ἄττις, εὐνουχισμένος δὲ διὰ κωνείου καὶ πᾶσαν παρητημένος τὴν σαρκικὴν γένεσιν, νυκτὸς ἐν Ἑλευσίνι ὑπὸ πολλῶ πυρὶ τελῶν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἄρρητα μυστήρια βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγε λέγων· "ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κοῦρον Βριμὼ Βριμόν," τουτέστιν ἰσχυρὰ ἰσχυρόν. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrep.* II. 14, describes this dramatic marriage as part of the mysteries of Demeter, and mentions Brimo in connexion with it:—Δηοὺς δὲ μυστήρια καὶ (*leg.* αἰ, Lobeck) Διὸς πρὸς μητέρα Δήμητρα ἀφροδίσιοι συμπλοκαὶ καὶ μῆνις (οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι φῶ λοιπόν μητρὸς ἢ γυναικός) τῆς Δηοῦς, ἥς δὲ χάριν Βριμὼ προσαγορευθῆναι λέγεται . . . τεθρυλήκασιν δὲ ὡς ἄρα ἀποσπάσας ὁ Ζεὺς τοῦ κριοῦ τοὺς διδύμους φέρων ἐν μέσοις ἔρριψε τοῖς κόλποις τῆς Δηοῦς, τιμωρίαν ψευδῇ τῆς βιαίας συμπλοκῆς ἐκτινύνων, ὡς ἑαυτὸν δῆθεν ἐκτεμῶν.

Possibly πατ may be the beginning of πατρος, and the words may refer to the mutilation of Uranos by Kronos: cf. Clement, *l. c.* μηδέων ἐκείνων τῶν ἀποκεκομμένων Οὐρανοῦ; or to that of Kronos by Zeus: cf. Proclus, in *Crat.*, p. 59: μόνος δ' ὁ Κρόνος καὶ ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν Οὐρανὸν τὴν βασιλείαν τελέως καὶ τῷ Διὶ παραχωρεῖ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τέμνων καὶ τεμνόμενος, ὡς φησιν ὁ μῦθος.

5. Compare line 22. For Brimo see the quotations in the note on l. 3, and Tzetzes on Hesiod *Op.* 144. Βριμὼ δὲ καὶ Ὀβριμὼ κυρίως ἢ Περσεφόνη, ἥγουν ἢ γῇ καὶ ὁ θάνατος καλεῖται. Brimo is mentioned also in the Orphic *Argonautica*, 17 and 429. Dr. Hunt suggests με/γαλη.

6. This line is shorter than the preceding and following lines by about four letters. Hence it is not likely that ῥέα was followed by τε in the next line, and we must suppose that Demeter and Rhea were identified, as they were in the Orphic tradition. Cf. Proclus in *Crat.*, p. 96, ὅτι τὴν Δήμητραν Ὀρφεὺς μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν λέγων τῇ ῥέα εἶναι λέγει, ὅτι ἄνωθεν μὲν μετὰ Κρόνου οὔσα ἀνεκφοίτητος ῥέα ἐστὶ, προβάλλουσα δὲ καὶ ἀπογεννώσα τὸν Δία Δημήτηρ. λέγει γὰρ ῥεῖν τὸ πρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἐπεὶ Διὸς ἔπλετο μήτηρ γεγονέναι Δήμητραν.

7. The Κουρήτες were the guardians of the infant Zeus, Dionysus, or Zagreus, according to the particular form of the mysteries in which they appear.

13. Possibly [τὰς ὄρχεις λαμβ]άνων τοῦ τράγου. Clement in the passage quoted in the note on l. 4 says that they were the δίδυμοι of a Ram which

were used in the mock mutilation of Zeus, but Psellus, *Quaenam sunt Graecorum opiniones de Daemonibus* 3, calls it a τραγοσκελὲς μίμημα παθαινόμενον περὶ τοῖς διδύμοις, ὅτιπερ ὁ Ζεὺς, δίκας ἀποτινὺς τῆς βίας τῇ Δήμητρι, τράγου ὄρχεις ἀποτεμῶν, τῷ κόλπῳ ταύτης κατέθετο ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ.

14. The original writing has been corrected to λοιπὰ. This direction to eat the remainder of the flesh of sacrificed animals is usual, cf. Ditt. *Syll.* 653, 96 ἀφελόντες ἀφ' ἐκάστου τὰ νόμιμα τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ λοιπὰ κρέα καταχρησάσθωσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν δεῖπνον. For the exclusion of certain portions of the victims sacrificed in the mysteries see Clement, *Strom.* II. xx. 106 ἐντεῦθεν οἶμαι καὶ τὸν εὐρόντα τὰς τελετὰς οὐ μόνον τινῶν ζώων ἀπαγορεύειν ἀπτεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἃ καὶ τῶν καταθυομένων ὑπεξείλετο τῆς χρήσεως μέρη δι' αἰτίας ἃς ἴσασιν οἱ μύσται.

15. Probably ὁ δὲ βέβηλ]ος μὴ ἐφοράτω.

17.]αλων is possibly the termination of a genitive constructed with εὐχή, but, since the following prayer is in the first person singular, it is more likely that it is the last word of the preceding sentence, and that εὐχή stands alone as a heading.

18. Eubouleus is well known in connexion with the Eleusinian mysteries, where he is associated with the God and the Goddess, but does not seem to have been an important personage (see Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, p. 104, and Rohde, *Psyche* I, 207, 210). He is mentioned in the gold tablets of Thurii, Εὐκλῆς Εὐβουλεύς τε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι, and often in the Orphic Hymns, where he is sometimes identified with Dionysus, son of Phersephone (xxix, 8, and xxx, 6), or is the father of Dionysus (xliii, 1, Θεσμοφόρον καλέω ναθηκοφόρον Διόνυσον σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυνύμνον, Εὐβουλῆος), or the father of Artemis (lxxii, 3). According to Macrobius, *Sat.* I. 18, 22, Eubouleus was one of the names given by Orpheus to the sun, ὃν δὴ νῦν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον Εὐβουλῆά τ' ἀνακτα καὶ Ἀνταύγην ἀρίδηλον.

The word ending]νον was, perhaps, Πρωτογόνον, cf. Orphic Hymn vi. 1. Πρωτογόνον καλέω διφυῆ, μέγαν, αἰθερόπλαγκτον. In the fourth line of the same hymn he is identified with Erikepaïos:—σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυνόργιον, Ἑρικεπαῖον. According to Orphic tradition he was the first emanation from the Cosmic Egg; Rhea was his daughter, *Hymn* xiv. 1. Πότνα Ῥέα θύγατερ πολυμόρφου Πρωτογόνοιο.

19. εὐιγας is probably connected with εὖιος and the mystic exclamations εὖιον εὖιον εὖοι, Aristoph., *Thesm.* 994, and εὖοι σαβοῖ, for which see Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 1041.

20. ἀπανάνας is probably the aorist participle of ἀπαναίνω. This verb generally means "to parch, or dry up completely," but here it seems to be used in the sense of "having taken away my thirst." Parching thirst was one of the terrors of the future life from which the initiated into the mysteries were protected. In the gold tablet of Petelia (Comparetti, *Laminette Orfiche*, p. 33) the soul is represented as saying

δίψηι δ' εἰμὶ αἷη καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ δότ' αἶψα
ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης.
καὶ[τοί σο]ι δώσουσι πιεῖν θείης ἀπ[ο κρήν]ης.

and in the tablets of Eleutherna as restored by Comparetti (p. 40)

δίψη αὔος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ πιεῖν μοι
κρήνης αἰερόου, ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, τῇ κυνάρισσος.

In Aeschylus, *Eum.* 23, the song of the Furies is described as αὐονὴ βροτῶν, and in the introduction to the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, which is full of allusions to the mysteries, Xanthias is told to run round the lake, and wait παρὰ τὸν ἀναίνου λίθον.

22. There are several ways in which the letters of this line can be divided into vocatives, but none is quite satisfactory. The best, perhaps, is]λεν Πικεπαιγε, where λευ may be the end of βασιλεῦ or Εὐβουλεῦ. Πικεπαιγε may, as Mr. E. H. Alton suggests, be a formation parallel to Ἑρικεπαῖε; the presence of the intervocalic γ would not cause any difficulty: or, it may be merely an attempt to reproduce the foreign and unintelligible name, which others wrote down as Ἑρικεπαῖος. This, like Protogonos, was one of the names of Phanes in the Orphic mysteries, one of the names of that Light which burst the aether and gave light to the earth and all creation: cf. Jo. Malala iv, p. 74 (and Suidas s.v. Ὀρφεύς):—οὗ ὄνομα ὁ αὐτὸς Ὀρφεὺς ἀκούσας ἐκ τῆς μαντείας ἐξείπε Μῆτιν, Φάνητα, Ἑρικεπαῖον, ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύεται τῇ κοινῇ γλώσσει βουλή, φῶς, ζωδοτήρ.

23. Possibly λικνῖτα. Cf. Orph. Hymn xlvi. Λικνίτην Διόνυσον ἐπ' εὐχαῖς ταῖσδε κικλήσκω, and lii. 3 μηροτρεφές, λικνῖτα, πυρίπνοε καὶ τελετάρχα.

εἰς Διόνυσος was a peculiarly Orphic expression. The followers of Orpheus combined a tendency to monotheism with an apparent multiplicity of gods. Justin. *Cohort. ad Gent.* 15, says that Orpheus, who was the first teacher of polytheism (ὁ τῆς πολυθεότητος ὑμῶν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, πρῶτος διδάσκαλος γεγονώς), afterwards preached about a one and only God (περὶ

ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου θεοῦ κηρύττει), and quotes the verse (cf. Macrobian *Sat.* i. 18, and Lobeck, p. 460):—

Εἰς Ζεὺς, εἰς Ἀΐδης, εἰς Ἥλιος, εἰς Διόνυσος
Εἰς θεὸς ἐν πάντεσσι.

σύμβολα is probably a kind of heading, like εὐχή in l. 17, indicating that the following expressions were mystic passwords, or test phrases. Firmicus Maternus, *De Errore* 18, tells us that *symbola* were the means of mutual recognition employed by the initiates, and implies that they consisted of two parts, a *signum* and a *responsum*:—Libet nunc explanare quibus se signis vel quibus symbolis in ipsis superstitionibus miseranda hominum turba cognoscat. Habent enim propria signa, propria responsa. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, p. 377, thinks that he is wrong:—Firmicus Maternus s'est trompé, je crois, sur la valeur de ces formules, et sur leur emploi. Ce n'était pas un mot de passe servant aux initiés à se reconnaître entre eux, mais une réponse à la question posée par les ministres du temple; chacun des recipiendaires déclarait qu'il avait accompli les actes fixés par le rituel;” and in a note on p. 376 says that the words σύμβολον and σύνθημα “indiquent que les mots employés, outre leur sens ordinaire, avaient un sens conventionnel qui échappait aux profanes.” It is true that the word σύμβολον was so used, especially of the sayings of Pythagoras, in which, as Stobaeus says, τὸ φράζεσθαι δοκοῦν κρυπτόμενόν ἐστι, καὶ τὸ κρύπτεσθαι νοούμενον: Plutarch, 2, 727b, discusses the hidden meanings of several Pythagorean symbola. This, however, is not the natural meaning of such words as σύμβολον and σύνθημα, but was a secondary meaning probably derived from the technical use of the words in the mysteries. Σύμβολα were properly tallies, such as dice, coins, or knuckle-bones cut in two; and were used as tests, and means of identification. A person claiming hospitality, or the return of a deposit, produced one half of the divided token as his credentials; if it fitted to the other half, his claim was established. (See C. I. G. 87; Herod. 6, 86; Schol. Eur. Med. 613.) The essential characteristic of a σύμβολον was that it was a part of a divided whole, and fitted accurately to the other divided portion. So in Plato's Symposium 191b, Aristophanes, having described how the original men were split in two, says ἕκαστος οὖν ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου σύμβολον, ἃτε τετμημένος ὥσπερ αἱ ψῆγται, ἐξ ἐνὸς δύο· ζητεῖ δὴ αἰεὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος σύμβολον. So, I believe, the σύμβολα of the mysteries were Divided Words, resembling a sign and a countersign, consisting, as Firmicus says,

of a *signum* and a *responsum*; one clause being spoken by one initiate, the other by the second. Every one present at a celebration of the mysteries would be tested in this way; an official would say, for instance, to a stranger, *ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον*, and the latter, if an initiate, would reply, *ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον*; but, if he were not initiated, he would not understand, and would probably ask absurd questions, such as, What do you mean? or, Why did you do that? It was in this way that the two Acarnanians were detected in the story told in Livy xxxi. 14:—Acarnanes duo iuvenes per initiorum dies, non initiati, templum Cereris imprudentes religionis, cum cetera turba ingressi sunt. Facile eos sermo prodidit, absurde quaedam percunctantes. It is most improbable that the *initia* implied in the words *initiorum dies* were different from those implied in the words *non initiati*, as Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, p. 282, supposes, referring the former to the ceremonies at Eleusis, the latter to the *Petits Mystères* at Athens; and it is quite incredible that the detection of outsiders should be left to the chance of their asking foolish questions. It was because the characteristic phrases of the mysteries were divided words, which fitted together, like the divided dice or coins, that they were called *σύμβολα*. The other secondary meanings were derived from this use. Since these phrases generally had a hidden, mystical meaning, the application of the word was extended to all expressions which, like the symbols of Pythagoras, veiled an esoteric meaning with ordinary words. Subsequently the word was used to indicate the formulae characteristic of some particular sect of philosophy or religion. It was in this way that the Christian Creed was called a symbol. These *symbola* of the Mysteries were thus means of mutual recognition in this life, and a knowledge of them established a claim to special privileges after death. They secured the initiate from the pains and penalties of the future life, as Plutarch suggests in his Consolation to his wife, 611D, καὶ μὴν ἂ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούεις, οἱ πείθουσι πολλοὺς λέγοντες ὡς οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ τῷ διαλυθέντι κακὸν οὐδὲ λυπηρὸν ἔστιν, οἷδ' ὅτι κωλύει σε πιστεύειν ὁ πάτριος λόγος καὶ τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμῶν, ἃ σύνισμεν ἀλλήλοις οἱ κοινωνοῦντες.

24. θεὸς διὰ κόλπου. This was a golden snake drawn across the breast of the initiate under his clothing, as a symbolical representation of the intercourse of Zeus, in the form of a snake, with Persephone. According to Clement, *Protr.* II. 16, it was a symbol of the mysteries of Sabazius:—Σαβαζίων γοῦν μυστηρίων σύμβολον τοῖς μνουμένοις ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεός· δράκων δέ ἐστιν οὗτος, διελκόμενος τοῦ κόλπου τῶν τελουμένων, ἑλεγχος

ἀκρασίας Διός· κνεῖ καὶ ἡ Φερέφαττα παῖδα ταυρόμορφον· ἀμέλει φησί τις
ποιητῆς εἰδωλικός

ταῦρος δράκοντος καὶ πατήρ ταύρου δράκων.

This line is quoted as a *symbolum* by Firmicus, *De Err.* 26, and by Arnobius, *Adv. Gent.*, v. 21. Auctorem aliquis desiderabit rei, tum illum citabimus Tarentinum, notumque senarium, quem antiquitas canit, dicens *Taurus draconem genuit et taurum draco*. Ipsa novissime sacra, et ritus initiationis ipsius, quibus Sebadiis nomen est, testimonio esse poterunt veritati in quibus aureus coluber in sinum dimittitur consecratis, et eximitur rursus ab inferioribus partibus atque imis.

25. If the first word could be read ψυ]χρ[ος] there might be a reference to the draught of cold water given to the thirsty soul after death: see note on l. 20, and C. I. G. 6267 ψυχῇ διψώση ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ μεταδός, 6717 δοίη σοι Ὅσιρις τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ, and compare 6256 and 6562. There are, however, only two small spots of ink left, of which the second may be the lower part of ρ, but the first is not very like part of χ. The word ἔπιον is certainly part of a *symbolum* resembling that of Eleusis:—ἐνήστευσα, ἔπιον τὸν κυκῶνα, ἔλαβον ἐκ κίστης, ἐργασάμενος ἀπεθέμην εἰς κάλαθον καὶ ἐκ καλάθου εἰς κίστην (Clem. *Protr.* II. 21, and Arnob. v. 26), or that quoted by Clement (*ib.* II. 15) in connexion with Deo, ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον, ἐκερνοφόρησα, ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν.

It is not clear whether ὄνος is connected with ἔπιον, in which case the meaning might be, "I drank as an ὄνος, and became a βουκόλος," or whether ὄνος βουκόλος formed an independent *symbolum*. In any case ὄνος must have had a technical, mystical meaning in the mysteries, indicating, perhaps, an outsider as distinguished from a βουκόλος. On this hidden meaning depends the interpretation of the expression ὄνος ἄγων μυστήρια (Arist. *Ran.* 159, Suid. Hesych.). The title βουκόλος is often found in the Orphic Hymns and Inscriptions in connexion with the Orphic Bacchus. It seems to have indicated a member of a college presided over by an ἀρχιβουκόλος, whose duties were, according to Dieterich, "deum non modo rite venerandum curare, sed etiam δραματουργίας et saltationes Bacchicas agere." The subject has been fully discussed by Dieterich, *De Hymnis Orphicis* I., *De bubulcis Orphicis*.

26. σύνθεμα. See note on l. 23.

ἄνω κάτω is here described as a σύνθεμα: it is probably an abbreviated formula, used as a password, concealing some point of the teaching of the

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

[2]

mysteries, which may, perhaps, be guessed at from Hippolytus, who says, *Philol.* v. 1, that Ἐλευσίν is derived from ἐλθεῖν, ὅτι ἤλθομεν οἱ πνευματικοὶ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμαντος ῥύνετες κάτω—and ἀνακτόρειον from τοῦ ἀνελθεῖν ἄνω, and continues:—τοῦτο, φησὶν, ἐστὶν ὃ λέγουσιν οἱ κατωργιασμένοι τῶν Ἐλευσινίων τὰ μυστήρια: or from Proclus, who says, *Crat.*, p. 85, that Orpheus in some respects identified Demeter with τῇ ὅλῃ ζυγογονίᾳ, in others distinguished them, ἄνω μὲν γὰρ οὖσα Ῥέα ἐστὶ, κάτω δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Διὸς Δημήτηρ; and *Theol. Plat.* vi. 11, 371, καὶ γὰρ ἡ τῶν θεολόγων φήμη, τῶν τὰς ἀγνωτάτας ἡμῖν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τελετὰς παραδεδοκότων, ἄνω μὲν αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς μητρὸς οἴκοις μένειν φησὶν, ... κάτω δὲ μετὰ Πλούτωνος τῶν χθονίων ἐπάρχειν καὶ τοὺς τῆς γῆς μυχοὺς ἐπιτροπεύειν.

28. The construction, probably, was ἃ δεῖ εἰς τὸν κάλαθον ἐμβαλεῖν—a list of things which must be put into the basket. These were the toys with which the Titans amused the infant Dionysus Zagreus before they tore him in pieces. They are enumerated with scorn in a similar list by Clement, *Protr.* ii. 17, τὰ γὰρ Διονύσου μυστήρια τέλεον ἀπάνθρωπα· ὃν εἰσέτι παῖδα ὄντα ἐνόπλῳ κινήσει περιχορευόντων Κουρήτων, δόλῳ δὲ ὑποδύντων Τιτάνων, ἀπατήσαντες παιδαριώδεσιν ἀθύρμασιν, οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Τιτᾶνες διέσπασαν, ἔτι νηπίαχον ὄντα, ὡς ὁ τῆς Τελετῆς ποιητῆς Ὀρφεύς φησιν ὁ Θράκιος.

κῶνος καὶ ῥόμβος καὶ παίγνια καμπεσίγνια
μῆλά τε χρύσεια καλὰ παρ' Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων.

καὶ τῇσδε ὑμῖν τῆς τελετῆς τὰ ἀχρεῖα σύμβολα οὐκ ἀχρεῖον εἰς κατάγνωσιν παραθέσθαι· ἀστράγαλος, σφαῖρα, στρόβιλος, μῆλα, ῥόμβος, ἔσοπτρον, πόκος.

30. The word σφαῖρα probably stood in the lacuna, and the word ending in η may have been πλαταγή. The σφαῖρα and πλαταγή were given to restless children to keep them quiet (*Plut. Quaest. Conv.* vii. 10), and Aristotle, *Pol.* viii. 6, referring to the πλαταγή, says that people give it to children in order that, being amused by it, they may not break the furniture.

II.

THE COURT OF TEN.

PLATES I AND II. C. 225 B.C.

In PP. III. 21 (a)–(g) there was published a series of legal documents containing the decisions of a Court of Ten. There were two copies of each document, the first written in a very small, very cursive, almost illegible hand, the second in larger and better writing. The most important of these documents was the last, of which, unfortunately, only the badly written copy was preserved, together with two small fragments of the second. Owing to the extreme difficulty of reading what was written, and the broken condition of the papyrus, there were many mistakes in the first publication, and much controversy as to the meaning of what was preserved. The text was re-edited by Mitteis *Chrestomathie* 21, with many improvements in the readings; and many of the difficulties have been discussed by the Graeca Halensis in *Dikaionmata*, p. 204 ff. Now, by a lucky chance, a large part of the second copy has been obtained from the soles of two feet. These fragments have been reproduced in autotype, together with the two small pieces belonging to the Petrie papyri.

The meaning of the beginning and end of the document is now quite clear, and, though the middle is still far from complete, it is of less importance, since it chiefly dealt with the details of the assault. The procedure seems to have been as follows:—Dositheus, a Jew of the Epigone, accused Heracleia, a Jewess, of assault with violence, and ὕβρις. She sent a petition to the king demanding the appointment of a court consisting of jurors, with the exception of such as either party should challenge. Aristomachus, the Strategus of the Arsinoite nome, sent a πρόσταγμα to Polydeuces, the εἰσαγωγεὺς, quoting the petition of the defendant Heracleia. Polydeuces, in accordance with this πρόσταγμα, constituted the court, which, in this case, consisted of a President and seven jurors. The reduction to seven, instead of the usual nine, in the number of the jurors may have been due to the exercise of the right of challenge; in which case Heracleia must have challenged two, since Dositheus did not appear in court, and therefore could not have challenged any. When the court had been constituted, and the πρόσταγμα of the Strategus, which gave authority to the εἰσαγωγεὺς to summon it had been read, the formal charge, or ἔγκλημα, brought by Dositheus against

[2^r]

Heracleia was recited. This *ἐγκλημα* gave full details of the assault, notice that an action would be brought, a statement of the amount of damages for *ὑβρις*, and of the *τίμημα τῆς δίκης*. This was followed by a notification that the trial would take place on a particular date in the Arsinoite nome in the court of which Polydeuces was *εἰσαγωγεὺς*, and a statement that the *ἐγκλημα* had been personally served upon Heracleia in the presence of witnesses. The plaintiff Dositheus did not appear, and did not present a written statement to the court; but the defendant Heracleia was present with her *κύριος*, and presented both a written statement and *δικαιώματα*, and was willing to defend herself. The court gave judgment in accordance with a *διάγραμμα*, which had been put in by Heracleia among her *δικαιώματα*. This *διάγραμμα* decreed that the court should decide (1) all matters dealt with in the *διαγράμματα* of the king in accordance with those *διαγράμματα*; (2) all matters not dealt with in the *διαγράμματα*, but in the *πολιτικοὶ νόμοι*, in accordance with those *νόμοι*; and (3) all other matters in accordance with the strictest justice. If, after both parties had been summoned to appear in court, either of them failed to attend, or was unwilling to present a written statement, the defaulting party must be presumed guilty of injustice. In accordance with this decree the court decided in favour of Heracleia, and dismissed the case.

The dates of the document are very difficult to explain, and there are certainly some errors in them. The most conspicuous of these is the discrepancy between the two copies in l. 11. The second copy has, quite clearly written, *Λκα Δυστρο[ν ις] Παχων ιθ*; the first has *Πανι* for *Παχων*, and the number of the year is much more like *κβ* than *κα*. This date is attached to the *πρόσταγμα* sent by Aristomachus to Polydeuces, ordering him to constitute the court, and it is impossible to suppose that more than a year elapsed between his order and the date of the trial in Dystros of the 22nd year. It follows that either *κβ* is the right reading in l. 11, and the second copy is wrong, or that the year changed between Dystros 16 and 22. Such a change would account both for the vacillation in the number of the year, and for the vague expressions *τοῦ ὄντος* and *τῆς οὔσης* instead of the names of the priest of Alexander and the canephorus of Arsinoe. This is almost exactly the date arrived at by Edgar (*Annales du Service des Antiquités de L'Egypte*, T. xviii, 1917) for the change of the year in the time of Philadelphus; but, if the years are Regnal years, counted from the anniversary of the king's accession, it is very unlikely that the change would take place on almost the same day in two successive reigns.

On the other hand, the Revenue year began, I am convinced, in Mecheir, not in Pachon or Pauni (see *Hermathena*, vol. xiv, No. xxxii, 1906). The written charge against Heracleia is certainly dated in the 21st year. Of this there can be no doubt, because the names of the priest and the kanephorus are given, and the docket attached to this *ἐγκλημα* declares that the trial would take place in Peritius of the 21st year. It did not take place in that month; but it is more natural to suppose that it was postponed for one month than for thirteen. These difficulties I cannot explain, and must leave them in the hope that a papyrus may some day be discovered which will tell us how the early Ptolemies counted their years.

The text as here printed is a combination of the two copies; words enclosed in square brackets are lost in the second copy, but preserved in the first, except where printed in smaller type. The words so printed are conjectural restorations. The end of the second copy has been very much altered, and differs considerably from the first, both in the order of the sentences and in smaller details. These differences confirm the suggestion made in PP. III, p. 43, that the first copy was hastily written by a clerk of the court during the proceedings, and that the second was a fair copy, made subsequently at his leisure. In this case the second copy is written in a larger and more careful hand than the first; but many peculiarities in the formation of the letters prove that both copies were written by the same person.

Βασιλευοντ[ος Πτο]λεμαιοῦ του Πτολεμαιοῦ και Α[ρσ]ινης θ[εων] Αδελφῶν
 ετους κβ ε[φ'ι]ερως του οντος εν Αλεξανδρειαι Αλεξανδρου [και θεων] Αδελφῶν
 και θεων Ευεφ[γτω]ν κανηφορου Αρσι[ο]ης Φιλαδελφου της ουσης [εν Αλεξανδρειαι
 μνος Δυστ[ρου κβ] εγ Κροκοδιλων πολει του Αρσινοιτου νομου [επι προεδρου
 Ζηνοθεμιδ[ος δικασ]ται Διομηδης Πολυκλης Αν[δρ]ων Θεοφανη[ς Μαιανδριος] 5
 Σωνικο[ς Διοτρεφης] καθισαντος ημας Πολυδευκου του εισαγω[γεως] κατα το
 παρα Αριστο[μαχου το]ν προς τη στρατ[ηγ]ιαι του Αρσινοιτου νο[μον] τεταγμενου
 γραφεν αυτω[ι] προστ[αγμα] ου εστιν αν[τ]ιγραφον τοδε Πολυ[δευκει] χαιρειν
 ηξιωκεν το[ν] βασιλ[εα] δια της εντε[υξ]εως η Ηρακλεια κα[θισαι] ομο-
 σαντας παντ[ας] δικ[ασ]τας πλην ων [αν] ε[κατερος] εξαναστη[σιν] κατα το διαγραμ- 10
 μα Λκα Δυστρο[ν ις] Παχων ιθ τα[δε] εγ[νω]μεν πε[ρι] της δικης ης εγραψατο
 Δωσιθεος Ηρακ[λειαι] κ[ατα] το εγκλημ[α] τοδε Δωσιθεος ιου Ιουδαιος

της ἐπιγονῆς Ἡρακλείαι Διοσδοτου Ιουδαιαι καθα 16 letters
 σαυτην [κατηγορησας οτι του καL μηνος Περιτιου κβ εσιοντος εμου
 τε και αλλων ε[ν τη Απιωνος 17 letters απο της λεγομενης 15
 [Πασ]υτιος οικια[ς η εστιν εγ Κροκοδιλων πολει του Αρσινου του νομου
 [απεναντι της λεγομενης Πασυτιος οικιας του μ 9 letters παραγενομενη εις τον
 [τοπον τουτον μετα] Κα[λλιππου του αν ου ελοιδορησας
 [φαμενη με ειρηκεν]αι προς τ[ινας διοτι 20 letters την
 [γυναικα εμου δε σε αντι]λοιδορουντο[ς ουτως επτυσας ωστε 20
 [και λαβομενη μου τ]ης αναβολης τ[ου ιματιου πετ 17 letters s με
 [και]πες εως ουτου α[25 letters πολλακις
 [Καλλιππου του προ]γεγραμμενου β[17 letters των δε παροντων
 [επιτιμωντων σοι τ]ε και Καλλιππωι [30 letters
 [. διετε]λεσω συ υβριζουσα [. . . [30 letters 25
 [.]α επεμαρτυραμη[ν] διο δ[ικαζο]μαι [σοι κατα
 [. την υ]βριν τ Σ τιμημα της δικ[ης τ . . .] υβρισ[μενος δε και
 [το αν και δι]α του εγκληματο[ς] του[δε ενεπισκηπτομαι L κα εφ
 [ιερεως Γαλειστου το]ν Φιλιστιωνος Αλ[εξ]αν[δρου και θεων Αδελφων και θεων
 [Ευεργετων κατηφο]ρου Αρσινου Φιλα[δ]ελφου Β[ερ]ενικης τη[ς Σωσιπολιος 30
 [μηνος]ς η δε δικη σοι γραφησεται εν τωι δικασ[τηριωι τωι οντι εν
 τωι [[δικα]στηριωι]] Αρσινου τη νομωι ου εισαγωγευς Πολυδε[υκης L κα μη-
 [ν]ος Περι[τιου . . .] και το εγκλημα ε[χ]εις κληθεισα ενωπια κ[λητορες
 [φ]ανης Νικ[ιου Θρ]αιξ των επεργων Ζωπυρος Συμμαχου [Περσης
 [τ]ης ἐπιγονῆς τουτου δε του εγκληματος οντος [και Δωσιθεου 35
 [μ]εν [[αυτ]ου] ου παρο[ντος και ουτε το]ν γραπτον λογον θ[ε]μενου ουτε
 [. . .]γομενου τ[. . .]ορην Ἡρακλείας [δ]ε παρουσης μετα [κυριου Αρισ-
 [τι]δου του Πρ[ω]τεου Αθηναιου της επιγονῆς και [αμα τε
 [γραπ]τον λογον θ[ε]μενης και τα δικ[α]ιωματα βουλομ[ενης τε απο-
 [λογε]ισθαι την [δι]κην επειδη κ[α]ι το διαγραμμα ο κ[αι παρεδοτο 40
 [εν] τοις δικαιωμ[ασιν] η Ἡρακλεια συνσ[τ]ησαι και δικαζει[ν
 κως οσα μεν εν [τοις β]ασιλεως Πτολεμ[αι]ου διαγραμμασι[ν] ειδη

[γ]εγραμμενα η ε[μ]φ[αν]ιζητι τις ημιν κατα τα διαγραμμ[ατα οσα τε
 [μ]η εστιν εν [τοις διαγ]ραμμασιν αλλ εν τοις πολιτικ[οις νομοις κα-
 [τα] τους νομο[υς τα δ α]λλα γνωμηι τη δικαιοτατη[ι
 [. . συντασσει εαν δε] αμφοτερων των αντιδικων [κληθεν-
 [των εν τωι δικαστ]ηριωι εκατερος ουν αυτων μη βουλη[ται γραπ-
 [τον λογον θεσθαι .] ορην η αποδεχ[ε]σθαι η συνθασθαι[.
 [. κρινε]τωσαν αδικησαι . απεδικασαμεν τη[ν δικην

45

Translation :—In the 22nd year of Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, &c., on the 22nd of Dystros in Crocodilopolis in the Arsinoite nome, under the presidency of Zenothemis, the Dicasts being Diomedes, Polycles, Andron, Theophanes, Maeandrius, Sonicus, Diotrephe :

Polydeuces, the Eisagogeus, having constituted us the Court in accordance with the ordinance sent to him by Aristomachus, who is the appointed Strategus of the Arsinoite nome, of which this is a copy :—

To Polydeuces greeting. Heracleia has requested the King in her petition to appoint in her case all the judges . . . except such as either party may challenge in accordance with the decree. Year 21, Dystros 16, Pachon 19.

we have given judgment in the action brought by Dositheus against Heracleia according to the following indictment :—

Dositheus, son of . . . , a Jew of the Epigone, against Heracleia, daughter of Diosdotus, a Jewess. (*The details of the assault and battery follow, but are too fragmentary for translation.*) Accordingly I bring this action against you, estimating the damages for the assault at 200 drachmae, and the costs of the trial at . . . In the 21st year, &c. The case will be tried in the Court held in the Arsinoite nome, of which Polydeuces is Eisagogeus, in the 21st year on the . . th of Peritius. You have the summons, served upon you personally ; the witnesses of the summons being X, son of Nicias, a Thracian τῶν ἐπέργων, and Zopyrus, son of Symmachus, a Persian of the Epigone.

Whereas this was the charge, and Dositheus was neither present in person, nor handed in a written statement, nor . . . ; and whereas Heracleia was present, with her guardian Aristides, son of Proteas, an Athenian of the Epigone, and both handed in a written statement and justificatory documents, and was willing to defend the case ; and whereas the ordinance, which was handed in by Heracleia with her other justificatory documents, directs us to give judgment on all points, which any person knows to be, or indicates to us as dealt with in the decrees of King Ptolemy, in accordance with those decrees, and on all points not dealt with in the decrees, but in the civic laws, in accordance with the laws, and on all other points in accordance with the strictest

justice; but when both parties have been duly summoned before the Court (?), whichever of them is unwilling to accept shall be judged guilty of injustice: We have dismissed the case.

In the following notes the first copy is referred to as P.

6. P. has ^{καθίσαν} [.....] ^{ηρας} τορ [.....] Πολυδεν[

10.]σαιτας. In P. Hal. 9 there is a small fragment from a similar document which is broken, unfortunately, at exactly the same letter,]σαντας και τον κληρον [λαχοντας; the editors reject Mitteis's suggestion ομο]σαντας on the ground that the taking of the oath could not be mentioned before the casting of lots: but it is quite possible that the Dicasts were first sworn, and then cast lots for the President of the court.

No stress can be laid on the number of challenges. The editors of P. Hal. suppose that only one was allowed to each party, because the relative was in the singular; but, unfortunately, it is possible in both copies to read either οὔ or ὦν; in P. it is rather more like ον, in this copy more like ων; but in both cases the writing is so bad that we cannot say which was meant. P. adds αυτων after εκατερος.

11. There are at least two mistakes in the date; one in the number of the year, which, in this copy, is quite clearly 21, but in P. is probably 22; the other in the name of the month, for this copy has Pachon, but in P. it is Pauni; and yet it is almost certain that both copies were written by the same person.

13. The final α of καθα is obtained from the parallel passage in PP. II. 21. Cf. Wilcken, *Archiv.* III. p. 515. But that document also is broken at this point.

14. σαντην. P. seems to have σαντον, and after κατηγορησας adds και μετα του υντος σοι κυριου, for which there is not room in this copy.

15. Possibly εν τω Απιωνος τοπω, cf. l. 18; but it looks more like τη. The double mention of the house of Pasutis is suspiciously like an erroneous dittography.

20. In *Dikaionata*, p. 116, 2, ἐνέπτυσας is suggested; but I think the reading ουτ[ω]ς in P. is certain. Cf. P. Mag. 24, 7 καὶ ἐνέπτυσεν εἰς τὸ πρόσω[πον]. In l. 6 read, on the analogy of this passage, ἐπισπασμένη τῆς ἀ[ναβολῆς τοῦ ἱματίου μου.

23. Cf. P. Mag. 24, 8, ἐπιτιμηθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ τινων τῶν παρόντων.

24-26. l. 25 of P., which here seems to be longer than the second copy, has, I think, πλ]ηγων, which would have stood near the end of l. 24 of this copy. L. 26-7 of P. probably contained something like και αρξασα] εις με χειρων αδικων τυ[υ]τους δε κατα το διαγραμμα επεμαρτυραμην. This would just fill the gap in the second copy after υβριζουσα, where the remains of the letters are very small and very faint, but not inconsistent with [κ]αι αρ[.

27. Two sums of money are mentioned, one as a penalty for ὕβρις, the other as τίμημα τῆς δίκης. Cf. P. Hib. 30, 19, διὸ δικάζομαι σοι τοῦ ἀρχαίου [καὶ τόκο]ν ἢ Ἀν. τίμημα τῆς δίκης ἢ Ἀν. Possibly 200 dr. was a fixed penalty in connexion with ὕβρις. Cf. Hib. 32, 7, πρὸς καταδίκην ἔρημον ὕβρεως πρὸς ἢ σ καὶ τοῦ ἐπιδεκάτου ἢ κ.

28. I suggest ἐν[επισκήπ]τομαι with hesitation; the ἐν is doubtful, but τομαι is quite certain.

35. In l. 36 of P. read [τουτου δε του] ἐγκλημ[ατο]ς οντος.

The end of the document has been recast. In P. the clause referring to Heracleia originally came first, and was followed by that dealing with Dositheus. It began Ηρακλείας μιν; then δε was written through the μιν, and there was written between the lines what might be read as Δωσιθεου μιν ουτε αυτου παροντος. The writer drew his pen through the whole clause referring to Dositheus, which differed considerably from that substituted for it in the second copy. It is very difficult to read, but I suggest with reserve:—

[[Δωσιθεου δε ουτε παροντος]]
[[αυτου ουτε γρα]πτου λογον θεμενου ουτε καθισαντων των δικα]σ-]]
[[των την ε]πιδειχθειςαν μαρτυριαν ουτε τα δικαιωματα]]
[[.] . . . ημιν και των της Ηρακλείας δικαιωμάτων]]

l. 46. Among the unpublished fragments of the Petrie papyri is a small strip containing the beginnings of lines, but so little of them that no sense could be obtained from them. It is worth publishing now, however, as an example of the way in which extracts were made from legal enactments. It contains five quotations, four of which are taken from the law edited by the Graeca Halensis with the title Dikaionmata. The first is evidently taken from an earlier part of the same decree, and was, I think, quoted here also:

αλλ[ο μέρος
εαν[δε αμφυτερων των αντιδικων
παροντος . [εκα-
τερος ουν αυ[των μη βουληται
γραπτου λογο[ν θισθαι 5
(line lost)
αλλο μέρος
ο μαρτυριας [επιλαμβανομενος επιλαμ- Dikai. 24-28
βανισθω π[αραχρημα οταν η γνωσις
αναγνωσθη[ι παρα δικαστων η διαιτη- 10
των η κριτ[ων επιλαμβανισθω δε
παντων τ[ων ταυτα μαρτυρησαντων
αλλο μέρος
εξιστω δε[και μερους της μαρτυριας επι- id. 32.
λαμβανισθα[ι 15

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

[8]

αλλο μερος

εαν δε τις κ[αταδικασθεις αυτου
δικης επι[λαβομενος των μαρτυρων
γραφηται δι[κην κατα το διαγραμμα

ib. ll. 44-46.

αλλο μερος

εαν δε τις α[ποδικασθεις

ib. l. 55.

ll. 2-5. The restorations of the beginnings of these lines are suggested by l. 46 f. of the present papyrus. The rather awkward *ουν*, which occurs in both documents, might be explained as due to an incomplete quotation, or perhaps goes closely with *εκατερος*, on the analogy of *οστιςουν*, in the sense of either of the two parties, whichever it may be.

l. 48. I cannot make anything of this line. The end of it seems clearly written, but gives no sense. The doubtful *υ* is more like another *σ*. Possibly it is a mistake for *συνιστασθαι*.

III.

TAXES.

(a) 16 × 7 cm. (b) 10 × 2·5 cm. c. 219 B.C.

Two fragments of an account dealing with the taxes for embankments and on beer. The lines of the longer fragment are nearly complete, but most of the amounts are illegible or torn away. In l. 11 [. .], *thesenouphis* is the name of a god, which accounts for the fact that the payment is made through an agent.

(a)

[. .] . . .
[Πα]ις Παιτ[ος
[Πε]τεσουχος Αρνωτου Λγ . .
[χωμ]ατικον Θεοδοτος
[. . .]ου Λγ . . . [5
[Φιλ]ιππος Θεοδοτου [5
[Αρσ]ινοη Κωνωνος . . . [5
Λβ [5
[χω]ματικον του δΛ Αιλουρος [10
[Σ]οκωνς Τεωτος }— 10
[. .]θεσενουφιος θεου δια
[. .]ιος Φανησιος . . [5
[ζ]υτηρας Μηνοδωρος . . [5
[. .]ος του . . νιος

(b)

[Ανδ]ρονικος [15
αναφορα
[. .]ναχθις Π[15
[. .]ν
[Δημη]τριος ρΑ[15
[. . .]νος .[20
[χωμ]ατικον
[Αρσι]νοης Λ[20

The 2nd, 3rd, and 4th years in which the payments are made are probably those of Philopator.

IV.

TRANSPORT OF CORN.

8 × 7·5 cm. 217 B.C.

An account of barley brought in Phāmenoth and Pharmouthi of the sixth year (of Philopator) from Kerkesephis as provisions for Samaria. Samaria, but not Kerkesephis, occurs in the Petrie papyri. The two villages have been supposed by some to be identical, and probably in later times they were combined (see Tebt. II, p. 384). Here they are evidently distinct.

Λς [δ]ια Σολων[ος
 σιτ[ο]ν του ανη[γ]-
 μενου εν τωι
 Φαμενωθ
 λ̄ εκ Κερκε[σ]ηφεως 5
 σιταρια και ζυ(τικα) Σαμαρειας
 εις [Φ]αμενωθ κρ(ιθης) οςδ
 ε[ν τωι] Φαρμουθι οςδ

V.

PETITION TO THE COMARCH.

13 × 10·5 cm. c. 215 B.C.

Πετησι κωμαρχηι κωμης Λυ-
 σμαχιδος παρα Σοκομηνιος
 του Σοκθωπου γεωργου βασιλι-
 κου Πετεσουχος Ωρου ο προ
 του κωμαρχων Λυσμαχιδα
 παραγενομενος προς με πυρε-
 τουντος μου ελαβεν παρ εμου
 χορτου κεκομμενου αγ[καλας

[8*]

τπε εξ ης γεωργω γης βασιλι-
 κης απο των γενηματων 10
 του ζL πυρων αρταβων
 επτα την αρουραν εκασ-
 την / (πυρων) κα εφ ωι απο-
 μετρησι εις το βασιλικον εις το
 γιν . [.]ν το εκφοριον επει ουν 15
 βαρυντερον διακειμαι και δυνα-
 μαι πραξαι αυτον καλως αν
 π[οησ]αι αναγκασας αυτον
 ε . . . κ εμοι

Translation :—To Petesis, comarch of the village Lysimachis, from Socomenis, son of Soethopus, a royal cultivator. Petesuchus, son of Horus, who was formerly comarch of Lysimachis, came to me when I was sick with a fever, and took from me 385 bundles of cut hay from the royal land which I cultivate at a rent of 7 artabae of wheat, from the produce of the 7th year, for each aoura, making 21 artabae of wheat, on condition that he shall pay the rent into the royal treasury. Since my health is worse, and I have a right to demand payment from him, you will do well to compel him to

l. 10. The rent was assessed at seven artabae of wheat for each aoura to be paid out of the produce of the seventh year; but the crop was hay, of which Petesuchus took 385 bundles, promising to pay the rent to the treasury.

l. 15. The reading of this line is very doubtful; a horizontal strip of the fibres, passing through the middle of the letters, has been torn away.

VI.

OFFICIAL LETTER.

11 × 17 cm. 214 B.C.

Part of an official letter. Since the beginnings of the lines are lost, the meaning is uncertain. It seems to be an exhortation, addressed to some person and his associates, not to collect too much. The writer directs the recipient to report to him, as soon as he has read the letter, that

no excess has been levied in order that he may be able to send off the

χ]αιρειν εμ μεν τοις κατα την εισδοχην
]τε ουθεν δει λεγειν οι ^{μαι} γαρ υμας επ αυτου του
 π]αρεξειν εαμπερ μη βουλησθε μετανοη[σαι
 δ]εχημεραι . νακουσι ^{διο} και ως αν αναγ[ν]ωις
]σον ημιν μηδεμιαν υπε[ρ]βολην απ
 ι]ν εκπεμψωμεν τα . ε . ρα
 ερρωσο Λη Παχων ιγ

1. 2 possibly began with *καιροις* or *χρονοις*, and 1. 3 with *τοπου*. 4. Probably [*ως αν αναγνωις την επιστολην διασαφη*]σον ημιν.

VII.

TRANSFER OF DEBT.

12 × 13·5 cm. c. 212 B.C.

A contract in the form of a letter. It seems that Sosibius was surety for the farmers of the Apomoiria in a district referred to as *οι τοποι*, to the amount of 500 drachmae, up to the end of Pachon in the 11th year of Philopator. If the farmers failed, Sosibius would have to pay the money into the treasury; and they would then owe Sosibius the 500 drachmae. To protect themselves further, they approached the writer of the papyrus, who must have been under some obligation to them, and apparently induced him to promise to pay the money to Sosibius, if necessary, and obtain for them a receipt in full. The present papyrus is the contract in which the writer binds himself to produce Sosibius with the receipt. It is practically equivalent to the transfer of liability for a debt *a persona in personam*. At least one line containing the names of the writer and of the farmers is lost at the beginning.

. . . [. . .] χαιρειν επιδεχ[ομαι
 υμειν παρεξεσθαι Σωσιβιον Σωσιβιου
 Αινιανα της επιγονης γραφ[ο]μενον
 υμειν συγγραφην αποχης των πεν-
 τακοσιων δραχμων χαλκου προς 5
 αργυριον ων ενεγυησατο υμας εκ-
 της Φιλαδελφου υπερ των το-
 πων εις το Λια εως Παχων λ
 του εν τωι ετει εαν δε μη παρασ-
 χωιμαι αυτον υμειν γραφομενον 10
 καθοτι προγεγραπται αποτεισω
 υμειν εν τωι εχομενωι μηνι
 δραχμας χιλιας ι- Α και η πρα-
 ξις υμειν εστω κατα τα δια-
 γραμματα και τους νομους 15

Translation :—(X to Y and Z) greeting. I undertake to produce to you Sosibius the son of Sosibius, an Aenian of the Epigone, with a written receipt in your favour for the five hundred drachmae of copper in which he stood surety for you for the sixth of Philadelphus due from your places for the eleventh year up to the thirtieth of Pachon in the same year. If I fail to produce him with the receipt as is written above, I will pay to you in the following month one thousand drachmae, 1000 drachmae. And you will have the right to exact the money in accordance with the ordinances and the laws.

3. The tense of *γραφομενον* implies that the receipt would be written by Sosibius at the time when he was produced by the writer of this document.

5. *χαλ. προς αργυριον* is the same as *χαλ. ου αλλαγη*, copper paid instead of silver, that is, at a discount; but in Ptolemaic ostraca the *απομοιρα* is generally found paid in *χαλ. ισονομος*.

VIII.

ROBBERY OF A VINEYARD.

16 x 30 cm. 210 B.C.

L ιβ Επειφ ι υπ(ομνημα) Τεωι βα(σιλικωι) γρ(αμματει)
 [Α]μωσις κωμογραμματευσ Απολλωνιαδος Τεωι χαιρειν
 [το]ν δοθεντος ημιν προσαγγελματος παρ Ηρακωντος του προεστη[κ]οτο[s]
 [τ]ων Πειθολαου υποθεθεικα σοι το αντιγραφον οπως ειδης
 Ερρωσο ιβ Επειφ θ 5
 [π]ροσ[α]γγελμα Αμωσει κωμογραμματει κωμης Απολλωνιαδος π[α]ρα
 [Η]ρακ[ω]ντος του προεστηκοτος των Πειθολαου επελθοντες [τηι .
 [το]ν Ε[π]ειφ επι τον παραδεισον του προγεγραμμενου Πειθολαου ο[ν]τα
 περι την προγεγραμμενην κωμην Θεοφιλος Δωσιθεου Φιλιστιων [. . . .
 και Τιμαιος Τελουφιος οι τρεις Ιουδαιοι της επιγονης εξετρυγησ[αν] 10
 αμ[π]ελους ι και Ωρου του φυλακος εκδραμοντος επ αυτους κακ[ο]ποη-
 σα[ν]τες αυτον ετυπτον εις ο ετυχον μερος του σωματος και αφειλ[ον]-
 το [αμ]πελουργικον δρεπανον τυγχανουσι δε οι προγεγραμενοι ληισ[ται] εν
 Κε[ρ]κεοσιρει κατοικουντες ικαζω δε τα τετρυγημενα εις οινου με[τ]ρητας) s

Translation :—

Year 12 Epeiph 10. Memorandum to Teos, the Royal Scribe.

Amosis komogrammateus of Apollonias to Teos, greeting. I have subjoined for your information a copy of the report sent to me by Heracon, the superintendent of the property of Peitholaus.

Farewell Year 12 Epeiph 9.

Report to Amosis komogrammateus of the village Apollonias from Heracon, the superintendent of the property of Peitholaus. On the . . . of Epeiph, Theophilus, son of Dositheus, Philistion, son of . . . , and Timaeus, son of Telouphis, all three Jews of the Epigone, having entered the vineyard of the aforesaid Peitholaus, which is near the aforesaid village, gathered the grapes of ten vines; and when Horus, the guard, ran out against them, they maltreated him, and struck him on any part of the body they could. And they carried off a vinedresser's pruning-hook. The aforesaid robbers are living in Kerkeosiris. I estimate the grapes gathered at six metretae of wine.

On the verso :—

L ιβ Επειφ ι περι
 βα(σιλικωι) γρ(αμματει) αμ(πελωνος) Πειθολαου τετρυ-
 γημενου

ΤΕΩΙ

1. This line is in a different hand from the rest of the document.

4. In P. Eleph. XXVIII. 4, mention is made of a Peitholaus, who was leader of the *κυνηγοί* in the 25th year of Energetes. He is identified by Rostowzew (*Arch.* v, p. 181) with *Πυθολαός*, the general of the elephant hunters (*Strabo*, xvi, 4, 14), and may be the same as the Peitholaus of this papyrus. His absence on active service would account for the fact that his property was being administered by a superintendent.

IX.

ASSAULT ON SERAMBUS.

δ. 5 × 12 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

Three fragments of evidence in a case of assault were published by Dr. Mahaffy in PP. II, xviii, and *Introd.*, p. 31. It seems that Apollodorus and some other workmen were engaged on an embankment repairing an *αφείσις*, or place for letting out water. Paos (1. *Παωτος* for *παντα* in l. 4), probably a foreman, seems to have sent for Serambus, who, on his arrival, was violently assaulted by Apollodorus. Among the unpublished fragments of the Petrie Papyri is another small scrap of the same document:

]ου πλησιον α[
Σ]ηραμβου κληρον και καταβα[
]ατ . ν επι του γνου και[
]ος επιδοντων εκα[

Dr. Mahaffy thought that Serambus was an Egyptian; but the name is Greek, and occurs in a fragment of Poseidippus (Kock, 29), where all the mss. have *Σηραμβου*, which Meineke, followed by Kock, altered on the strength of a quotation in Athenaeus into *Σαραβου*. Similarly editors of *Plat. Gorg.*, 518B, have changed *Σαραμβος* of the mss. into *Σαραβος*. Serambus is found in Pausanias also as the name of an Aeginetan sculptor.

The present papyrus is written in a different and smaller hand, but evidently refers to the same transaction: the same names—Paos, Serambus, and Apollodorus—occur in it, and it refers to the *αφείσις*, and to the work on the embankment. It seems to be part of a detailed description of the place where the assault was committed, but adds very little to our knowledge.

] . ι της Ηρακλειδου μεριδος του Αρσινοιτου νομ[ου
] Παωτος τωι οντι περι την προγεγραμ[μ]ε-
 [νην κωμην χωματι εσ]τιν απο νοτου του Σηραμβου κληρου του
 ε]στιν εκ του προς λιβα μερους πρωτος
 [[] την αφεσιν και ημων χωννυντων και]] 5
 κ]αι καταλαβοντων^{ημων} αλλους τε και Ση-
 [ραμβον] και του Παωτος συντασσοντος
] αφεσιν
] ηκοτος
] . Απολλοδωρος 10
] μηθεν

1. This line contained the name of the village.

2. I suppose that before Παωτος there was a participle, indicating that P'ao was in charge of the embankment, described in the words :—τωι οντι περι την προγεγραμμενην κωμην χωματι ο εστιν απο νοτου, &c.

4. προς corr. from απο.

X.

TEMPLE PROPERTY.

13 × 13·5 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

Part of a petition, of which the beginning, the end, and the ends of the lines are lost. The surface of what remains is much damaged; but a general idea can be formed of the transaction, which was very unusual. It seems that some official had opened a box (?) belonging to a temple; he took out of it, and carried away, six silver chains, some collars, and twenty-two quarters of gold, which had been provided for libations and sacrifices on behalf of the King and Queen, and for a sacred . . . ; he arrested the petitioners—presumably the owners or guardians of this temple property—and, having taken them to Crocodilopolis, kept them in prison there till he had exacted a sum of money (?) from them. They now demand that he should be sent for, and examined, and, if proved to have done these things, should be compelled to restore the property to the temple.

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

[4]

. . του εγκου . . [
 προελων
 . . ανοιζας απηνεγκατο εξ .[.
 αλυσεις αργυρας s και κλοιου[s
 [κ]αι χρυσιου τεταρτας κβ επιτε[ταγμανα
 ε .[.
 γινόμενος
 εις τε τας σπονδας και θυσιας υπε[ρ του βασιλεως.
 και της βασιλισσης κα[ι] εις τον ιερ[ον]
 και αναγαγων ημας εις Κροκοδ[ιλων πολιν
 απεθετο εις την φυ[λακην] κου προτ[ερον]
 αφηκεν ημας εωσ επραξεν [.
 αξιουμεν ουν σε επειδη επ[ισθαι]
 συνταξαι μεταπεμψα[μεν] αυτ[ον] και
 επισκεψασθαι ιν εαν παρα δικη[n] [φαινεται
 επαναγκ[ασθη]
 ταυτα συντετελεσμενος απαν[τα]
 [τα] του ιερου αποκαταστησαι ε[. . . .]ν και ημιν [. . . .]ν
 εν ημερ[αις]
 [ε]ν τω ιερω χ[ι]

1. The *a* of *απηνεγκατο* seems to have been cancelled, or corrected when *προτελων* was written above it.

3. ἀλύσεις and κλοιοί are ornamental chains and collars. Cf. Pollux, 10. 167, ἡ δὲ ἄλυσις οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσμοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ γυναικεῖον κόσμου ὠνόμασται παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει “σφραγίδας ἀλύσεις,” and the χρύσειον κλοιόν, which charmed Helen in Eur. Cycl. 184. An ἀλύσιον worth 40 dr. is mentioned in P. Hib. 121. 3, and the form ἀλυσίδιον occurs in P. Oxy. 496. 3 and 528. 20.

6. Possibly for some sacred animal, such as Apis.

12. δικην is very doubtful; the writing is very cursive and much damaged, and that παρὰ δικην for παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον was unusual, is indicated by the gloss παρὰ δίκην: παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, which is found both in Suidas and Hesychius. It would also be just possible to reconcile παρὰ δεον φαινεται with the traces.

XI.

OFFICIAL LETTER.

13·5 × 10 cm. c. 210 B.C.

The end of a letter containing an order to pay 500 artabae of wheat, without causing any difficulties, and to obtain a receipt. Dated in the 13th year, probably of Philopator.

και ουσι παρα Διονυσιου του
αντιγραφews πυρου του
εκ του ιL (αρταβ.) φ
μετρει και συ μηθεν
επικωλυων και συμβ[ο]λον
ποιησαι προς αυτους
ερρωσο Lγ Επειφ ε

XII.

DATE OF PHILOPATOR.

8 × 6·3 cm. 209 B.C.

This is a small fragment of papyrus containing the beginnings of the lines of a date. Fortunately part of the names of Eirene, the athlophorus of Berenice Euergetis, and of Iamneia, the kanephorus of Arsinoe Philadelphus, are preserved. These names are known from an incomplete date in PP. II, 47, which should be read:—

Φιλοπα[τορων] αθ[λο]φορου Βερ[ενικης Ευεργετιδος
Ειρηνης της Μητροφανους [κανηφορου Αρσινοης
Φιλαδελφου Ιαμνειας της [.] μηνος
Δαισιου πεντε και δεκατη[ι]

We thus obtain the exact length, 48 letters, of l. 5. From this it follows that the date belongs to Philopator, since the formulae of no other king will fit the lacunae. In this way the missing parts of lines 3–5 can
[47]

be restored with certainty. The PP. document has a registration docket of the 13th year. Hence we may with certainty assign this fragment to the 13th year of Philopator. The presence of *και* in l. 2, and the length of the lacuna, prove that *Πτολεμαίου του υίου* must have stood in the text. We thus learn that Epiphanes had been associated with his father before 25 Pharmouthi of the 13th year. Revillout, *Rev. Egypt.* iii, p. 2, has deduced from a Demotic contract in the British Museum that he had been already associated with his father in the 15th year; and, from another, that he had not been so associated in the 12th. We know from the Rosetta Stone that he was born on Mesore 30, and from the Canon that Philopator survived Thouth I. of his 18th year, that is, 13th October, 205 B.C. From this papyrus we learn that Epiphanes had been associated with his father before 5th June, 209. Revillout has, I think, proved that the association took place on 17th Phaophi. We may conclude that Epiphanes was born 8th October, 210, and that he was associated with his father as king fifty days later, on 29th November.

[B]ασιλευοντος [Πτολεμαίου του Πτολεμαίου και Βερενίκης θεων
 [Ευ]εργετων και [Πτολεμαίου του υίου ετους ιγ εφ ιερεως του
 . . λε . [.]ορ . [.] Α[λεξανδρου και θεων Σωτηρων και θεων Αδελφων
 και θεων Ευερ[γετων και θεων φιλοπατορων αθλοφορου Βερενίκης
 Ευεργετιδος Ειρ[ηνης της Μητροφανους κανηφορου Αρσιωνης 5
 Φιλαδελφου [Ι]αμ[νειας της μηνος Διου . Αιγυπτιων
 δε Φαρ[μ]ου[θι] κε.

7. The beginning of this line is quite illegible, but the names of the months can, I think, be established as follows:—The number of the day is quite distinct; immediately before it is a hole in the papyrus, and before this *ου*; the rest might be almost anything. The letters *ου* could be the end of the name of any Macedonian month; but that they are not is proved by the length of the lacuna in l. 6; this is so great that the names of both the Macedonian and the Egyptian months must have been given. In such cases the Macedonian month always comes first; therefore the month in l. 7 is Egyptian, and must be Pharmouthi, the only Egyptian month-name which contains the letters *ου*. When we fill up the necessary words of the formula, and allow space for the name of Iamneia's father, which in the PP. document filled a space of about 12 letters, we are left with only 3–5 letters for the Macedonian month, and the only names short enough are *Διου* and *Δωιου*. Dios is a more suitable correspondence at this period, and admits room for a number after it. I have restored the text accordingly.

XIII.

ORDER TO COLLECT DEBTS.

33 x 7·5 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

Αριστ[ο]κριτος Διοδωρωι	Σαρ . . . [	15
χαιρειν διελθε εις την	. Αφυγχιν [.] s[—	
Αλεξανδρου νησον	και Κωιλιν το[ν] εγ Λα—	
και πραξον Αλεξανδρον	γιδος κω(μης) ι— [	
το λοιπον του περισ-	το εννομιον και	
τερωνος ι— ιβ και Επι-	Ανικητον τον φορον	20
γενην την αναφοραν	του βαλανειου και τον	
του βαλανειου και τον	βαλανεα τον εγ Βερενι—	
παρα Αγηνορος το εν-	απαιτει την αναφοραν	
νομιον νγ= Ζαι . συν	κιδος ειρηκε γαρ Αριων	
Αβρακου γ[=] Ειρηνην	Αντιμαχου πραξαι αυτον	
Αιγυπ[το]ν = Ιασονα ν	παντα τα εφελκομενα	25
Σαραπι[ωνα] = Θεογενον	Καγιν δε τον λ[ογευ]την	
Φ[α]νησιος . . Κα . . [. . . .] s[—	εχε μετα σου[του] εις τας	
	αποστολας ερρ[ωσο	

On the verso :

Διοδωρωι

Translation :—Aristocritus to Diodorus greeting. Go over to Alexander's Island and demand from Alexander payment of the amount still due for his pigeon-house, 12dr. ; from Epigenes the instalment due for his bath-house ; from the agent of Agenor the pasture tax, 53dr. 2ob. ; from Z., son of Abracus, 3dr. 5ob. ; from Eirene, daughter of Aegyptus, 2ob. ; from Iason, 50dr. ; from Serapion, 2ob. ; and from Anicetus the rent of the bath-house, and demand the instalment from the bathman from Berenice. For Arion, son of Antimachus, has given orders to exact from him all the sums due. But keep Kagis the . . . with you, that you may send him with the money. Farewell.

26. The reading λ[ογευ]την is very doubtful.

XIV.

RECEIPT.

11 × 6 cm. 219 B.C.

This papyrus is the beginning of a receipt given by Horus, the son of Pagonbius, for corn paid into the Storehouse at Letopolis on behalf of the village of Arabians. Both of these villages were in the Division of Heracleides.

Ετους δ
 Φαωφι λ̄ μεμε-
 τρηκεν εις τον
 εν Λητους πο(λει)
 θη(σαυρον) υπερ Αραβων δ
 κω(μης) Ωρωι τωι
 Παγωνβιου
 σιτολογωι
 ης εχει . . .

XV.

RECEIPT.

4.3 × 11 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

[Πτολε]μαιος Διοσ[δο]τος Αγαθων Αλεξανδρος
 [.] Πετessουχος και Απολλων Ωρ[ωι
 [. . . .] ητου χαιρειν απεχομεν παρ υμων
 [κα]ι των συνεπακολουθουντων την
 [.] ν υμιν οινικην 5

5. Since συνεπακολουθουντων would be followed by a dative, την . . . οινικην must depend upon απεχομεν; but then it becomes difficult to explain υμιν. If we suppose υμιν to be a mistake for ημιν, the first word of the next line might have been συνταξιν, and the sentence would mean: "We have received from you the allowance of wine due to us."

XVI.

RECEIPT.

11 × 6 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

A receipt for $1\frac{3}{4}$ artabae of wheat from Apollonius, the agent of the sitologus Callicrates, to Tothoes, son of Petesuchus, for the tax on his vineyard, which he cultivated in association with others; his share being a quarter.

Τοθοης Πε-	το δ (πυρου) μιαν
.....	
τεσουχου	Λδ / αΛδ
φορον του αυ-	δι Απολλωνιου
του αμ(πελωνος) ου με-	του π[α]ρ[α] 10
τεχει γεγορ-	Καλλικρατ[ου]
5	
γησαι κατα	του σ[ι]τολογου

5. γεγοργησαι is probably a mistake for γεωργησαι.

XVII.

LIST OF PERSONS.

5.5 × 7 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

The two villages mentioned in this fragment were both in the Division of Themistes, and are found together also in PP. III. 117, b. col. ii. Accounts referring to a class of people called ὀρφανοί have been published in PP. II. 29, c. and III. 110. It is generally supposed that they were sons of soldiers killed on active service, and had received a κλήρος as a reward for the services rendered by their fathers (see Lesquier, *Inst. Milit. sous les Lagides*, p. 36, n. 3).

Πυρρειας
 Αγαθων ρχ εν τωι
 Αντιφανης ορφανος [
 / β
 Αλεξανδρου Ν[η]σου 5

XVIII.

MEMORANDA OF AN INSPECTOR.

7 x 25.5 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

The *recto* is demotic. On the *verso* are the tops of three columns containing the names of thirty-aroura and twenty-aroura cleruchs, and of villages. Each line, even the date, has some kind of mark against it, sometimes a Y with o above it (this mark occurs also in PP. III. 54, 4, written in the margin opposite the names of cavalry officers; it was suggested that it stood for *ουραγος*; but, since that meaning is impossible here, it is more likely that it denotes some kind of negative), sometimes a sloping line, and sometimes a cross (X); the two strokes of these crosses look as if they had been made at different times. In two instances details are given about land, but they were, I think, written later, with a rather thicker pen; they both project into the margin, and the first of them even trespasses upon the second column. I suggest that the entries were rough notes, made by some inspector, of what he had to do, who indicated the results by special marks and occasional notes.

Col. I.

Y Φαρμουθι θ
 Y λΑ Μακεδωνων
 Y Κερκεοσιρεως
 Y Δημητριου του Πυρριου
 X κΑ Πτολεμειδα Ωρ()
 X Λεωνιδου του Ζηνωνος ασπο(ρου) βεβρε(γμενης) κ
 Κερκεοσιρεως

Col. II.

X κΑ δια Θεοδοτου
 X Βουκολων κω(μης)
 X Ηφαιστιωνος του Θεωνος αβροχο(υ) κ
 Y Θεοξενιδος

Ὑ Προξενος του Σωκρατους
 Ὑ λ᾿ δι Ασκληπιαδου Ἀ κω(μης)
 [.] Ἀσιαγονου

Col. III.

Βουκολων κω[μης] 15
 Φιλιστ[ου]
 Αμ . . α .[
 Ανουβια[δος
 X εν δε τηι . . () [
 . . () ο . νο() ο [20

5. *ει* is a correction.

6. *ασπ. βεβρε.* was probably added afterwards to note that the whole 20 arourae of Leonidas were unsown, though they had been irrigated. Compare l. 10, where it is noted that the 20 arourae of Hephaestion had not been irrigated.

13. The abbreviation, which resembles a Λ with a long sloping line on top, may represent a title, or, perhaps, the name of a village; but *Τρικωμια* cannot be read.

20. Some abbreviations, of which only fragments are preserved.

XIX.

PAYMENT OF SOLDIERS.

7.5 × 27 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

The writing on the *recto* is demotic: on the *verso* is part of an account of, or an order for, payments of wheat, at the rate of three-quarters of an artaba, made (*a*) to 147 persons out of the supplies set apart for them; (*b*) to 98 soldiers who accompanied Teres(?), a *υπηρετης*, from the city, perhaps to Polydeucia, which was in the Division of Themistes. In the margin are

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

[5]

two long sloping lines marking ll. 1 and 4, and the amount in the last line was written by a different hand.

...[

ρμζ λ.() ε.() (ανα) λδ ριδ... ..[

απο των εκτιθεμενων εις αυτους και[

Τηρηι υπηρετηι ωστε τοις απο πολεω[ς

συνηκολουθηκοσι αυτωι στρατιωταις ᾗ

5

δεοντα... (αρταβ.) ογλ / πυρων ρπγλδ

εγρ(αψα) εις Πολυδευκιαν 2nd hand (πυρων) ρπ[γλδ

2. $147 \times \frac{3}{4} = 110\frac{1}{4}$. I do not understand the abbreviated words in this line.

5-6. $98 \times \frac{3}{4} = 73\frac{1}{2}$ and $110\frac{1}{4} + 73\frac{1}{2} = 183\frac{3}{4}$.

7. Whether we expand *εγραφα* or *εγραψεν*, the first three words of this line are in the same hand as the rest of the document.

XX.

OFFICIAL LETTER.

10·5 × 29 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

Τεως Τεωτι χαιρειν αναγοντες τ[ην παρα σο]υ επιστολην εν ηι

διεσαφεις Διονυσιον τον τοπαρχην συσχοντα τους εν τηι κωμηι γεωργους

προς τα εν αυτοις οφειληματα μετα ταυτα δε και πραξαντα χαλκου ι- [. .

γεγραφαμεν Διονυσιωι τωι οικονομωι φροντισαι ιν ο χαλκος διαγραφηι εις την

βασιλικην τραπεζ[αν

διασαφησον [

In the margin opposite line 2:

η κωμη

εστιν

Ανδρομα

χιδος

Translation:—Teos to Teos greeting. Having read your letter, in which you point out that Dionysius, the toparch, has arrested the cultivators who are in the village for

the debts due from them, and has subsequently exacted from them x drachmae of copper, we have written to Dionysius, the oeconomus, to take care that the money be paid into the Royal Bank.

In the margin :—The village is Andromachis.

1. Teos, the writer of this letter, is probably the Royal Scribe to whom VIII. is addressed. Both Andromachis and Apollonias were in the Division of Themistes.

XXI.

OFFICIAL LETTER.

12 × 21 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

Part of a letter from Imouthes to the toparchs, enclosing a copy of a letter from Protarchus, in which they were ordered to visit the cultivated land and demand payment of dues from the cultivators. The writing is large and clear where it is preserved, but the surface of the papyrus is very much damaged.

Ιμουθης τοις τοπ[αρχαῖς χαιρεῖν
της παρα Πρωταρχ[ου επιστολης
απεσταλκα υμιν το [αντιγραφον εν ηι
συντετακται πα[..... την γε-
γεωργω[μεν]ην πραξ[αι 5
π..... αναγραψα[ντες
το υπαρχον της κα[
δουναι τους των κτ[
πεμψατε προς ηβ..[
[μ]ετα ταχους ει δε του[το 10

1. This Imouthes was probably the basilicogrammateus of PP. III. 72(a), and P. Cairo 10274 (*Archiv.* II, p. 83). These papyri are dated in the 15th(?) and 14th years; but it is not certain whether they are years of Evergetes I or of Philopator. Possibly the agent of Petosiris in PP. 43. 2. ii. 11 (Ιμουθου του παρα Πεουσειριος βα[σιλικον] γρ[αμματικως]), dated in the 2nd year of Euergetes, was the same person, subsequently appointed as the successor of Petosiris.

[5']

X XII.

31 x 22 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

COL. I.

Digitized by Google

Μιθραιον		10
Θυηρις Χαιαπιος προβα(τα)	ιγ	
αρνες	ε	
Μιρασιστις Ορεννιος προβα(τα)	κ	
[Αβ]ιστις Αβιστιος προβατα	ε	
αρνον	α	15
Υ[. . . .] . . . ντου προβα(τα)	γ	
αρνες	β	
Οπαις Γωβιος προβατα	ις	
αρνες	ς	
[Η]δυλος Μαρωνος προβα(τα)	ε	20
αρνες	α	
Αφροδισιον		
Συμμαχος Δημητριου προβα(τα)	λ	
αρνες ι αιγας β εριφοι	γ	

COL. II.

Τετοσιρις Ψενεισιος προβατα	ξ	25
αρνες	λ	
Μυρτιον προβατα ιβ αρνες	ς [	
Δωροθεου προβατα	[γ	
και Τυδεως προβατα δ αρ[νες	.	
και Πτολεμαιου προβατον [α		30
και Πετοσιριως προβατον [α		
και Σισινου προβατα [β		
Εστιαιος Αριδαιου προβατα [β		
Ειρηνη προβατον α αρνον [α		
γινεται προβατα ρις αρνε[ς . .		35
αιγες β εριφοι [γ		
Ερμαιον		
Ωρος Ωρον προβατα λ α[ρνες	.	

Οβεστερταις Αρεμβασιος

προβατα α αρης [α 40

Ιναρωνς Ωρου προβατα δ

αρης [α]

Σαχμειου

Αυγχις μοσχοτροφος προβ[ατα .

Νεφθιμειου 45

Σειληνος Ποσειδω[νιου προβατα .

Αρισταρχος προβατα γ .

Πανω

Ιδελλας Σαβαθωιτος προβατα [. . .

αρνας ρκ αιγες γ ερ[ιφοι . 50

1. Πυρσουρος seems to be an impossible form as the genitive of a proper name, so I take it to be a descriptive word, like *μοσχοτροφος* in l. 44. The word is found in Polyæn. *Strat.* 3. 9. 55 of men who give signals with torches: Suidas calls their watch towers *πυρσουρίδες*, and Pollux 9. 14 mentions *πυρσούρια* (al. *πυρσούργια*) in his enumeration of τὰ μέρη τῶν προαστείων.

3. The nominative singular of the word ἄρνες is not found in Classical Greek, but *αρην* occurs in inscriptions: the writer of this papyrus was himself uncertain about it, for he writes *αρνον* three times and *αρης* twice.

5. *Ναχπανεως* might be read; the fourth letter is badly written and crowded; its second stroke overlaps the following *α*.

10. It is interesting to find mention of a Mithraeum in the Fayoum in the 3rd cent. B.C. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments* I, p. 242, admits that one is tempted to believe that Mithra may have been adored in Memphis in very early times, because we know of Persian garrisons in Egypt, and settlements, in the time of the Ptolemies, of Persian soldiers. But, on the ground that Mithra has never been found mentioned in an Egyptian inscription, he maintains that the cult was not introduced there till the time of the Romans.

16. The letter before *του* has been corrected: *σ* and *υ* were both written, one on top of the other; it is impossible to say which was written first.

XXIII.

RENT OF ERGASTERIA.

30 × 17 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

The writing on the *recto* of this papyrus is demotic. On the *verso* are two columns of Greek, of which the first has lost the beginnings, the second the ends of the lines. It is an account of three *σιτικά εργαστήρια*, each of which has several villages grouped in it: the first is that near Tebtunis, and includes Kerkesoucha and the *εποικιον* of Heracleides; the second is that near Mouchis, and includes Aphrodites Polis and Eleusis; the third, near Memphis, includes Hiera Nesos. All these villages are in the Division of Polemon; some of the names have been completed by conjecture; but there can be little doubt about them. The entries are for *μισθωσις* and *σπερμα*, both of which may be either in wheat or barley. From the former one forty-ninth is always subtracted, the remainder being indicated by the symbol $\neg$; but no deduction is made from the seed.

COL. I.

[του περι] Τεβτυνιν δια σιτολογου
] και παρ ημων Απολλοδωρου
] βασιλικου γρ(αμματεως) Παωπιος
] Τε[β]τυνεως
 [εν Κερκε]σουχοις υπερ αυτης 5
 [μισ(θωσις) πυ(ρων)] 'Αφλδ / λαδ $\neg$ 'Αφβ[λδ]
 [εν τωι Ηρα]κλειδου επ(οικιω) υπερ αυτου
 [μισ(θωσις) πυ(ρων)] τλς / λδ $\neg$ τκθδ
 [και υπερ Τ]εβτυνεως μισ(θωσις) πυ(ρων) 'Ασα/
 κδγ $\neg$ 'Αροςβ 10
 [/ του εργαστ]ηριου μισ(θωσις) πυ(ρων) 'Γοα/
 ξ[β]γ $\neg$ 'Γηβ
 [του περι Μο]υχιν
 [εμ Μουχι υ]περ [αυτης
 (Traces of four lines.)
 [εν υπε]ρ αυτης
 [σπερμα πυ(ρων) . .] κριθων ωοε 20
 [μισ(θωσις) πυ(ρων) σιζ/] δγ $\neg$ σιββ

COL. II.

$[κρ.]θ[ω]ν ξ. / [\dots \wedge \dots$
 εν Α[φ]ροδιτης [πολει υπερ αυτης
 σπερμα πυ(ρων) 'Α . [
 μισ(θωσις) πυ(ρων) 'ΑρςΖ [/ κβΖ $\wedge$ 'Απδ 25
 εν Ελευσινι υ[περ αυτης
 σπερμα πυ(ρων) 'Α κ[ριθων] . .
 μισ[θωσις] πυ(ρων) 'Ασπδς' [/ κςς' $\wedge$ Ασνης
 / του εργ[α]στηριου
 σπερμα πυρων [. . . . κριθων 30
 μισ(θωσις) πυ(ρων) 'ΕτμγΖγ' [/ ρθ $\wedge$ 'ΕσλδΖ γ
 κρ(ιθων) χξ[θ] / ιγΖγ [$\wedge$ χνές
 του περι Με[μ]φιν
 εμ Μεμφι υπερ [αυτης
 σπερμα πυ(ρων) σ . . [35
 μισθωσις [
 εν Ιεραι Νησowi υπερ [αυτης
 σπερμα πυ(ρων) ρκ κ[ριθων]
 μισ(θωσις) πυ(ρων) ωξδΖ / ιζΖ [$\wedge$ ωμζ
 κρ(ιθων) υξς / θβ $\wedge$ [υνςγ 40

1. 11. The entries for the *εργαστηριον* near Tebtunis are all for *μισθωσις*, and, since the numbers are fully preserved, the three items may be tabulated :—

1534	—	31 $\frac{1}{4}$	=	1502 $\frac{3}{4}$
336	—	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	=	329 $\frac{1}{4}$
1201	—	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	=	1176 $\frac{3}{4}$
3071	—	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	=	3008 $\frac{3}{4}$

XXIV.

TAXING ACCOUNT.

(a) 19 × 18 cm. (b) 20 × 17·5 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

This papyrus contains part of a list of taxes, with the instalments paid each month. The general form of the document seems to have been:—first the name of the tax, such as *Zvthpas* or *Nvtrikwv*; then a list of the villages, each accompanied by the name of the farmer and the total amount paid by him, with the dates and the amounts of the monthly instalments. This probably was followed by a summary of the totals for the whole district; such a summary, for the beer-tax, occurs in Fr. (b). All the villages mentioned, Alabanthi, Pseonnophris, Ptolemais Nea, Syron Kome, and Aueris Nebla, are in the Division of Heracleides (see P. Teb. II. App.). Aueris and Nebla seem to be identified here, and in PP. III, 37 b, *verso* 21, they are coupled together (*Νεβλας και Αυηρεως ξβ*) in a combined payment made by two brewers.

It is surprising that each of the three series of dates begins with Choiak, and extends over a whole year to Athyr. The reason for this is not to be sought in the supposition that the official or Revenue year began in Choiak, but probably arose from some peculiarity in the farming of the beer-tax. If this be so, Fr. (a), in which the name of the tax is not preserved, would also refer to the beer-tax; but at least one column must be lost between the two fragments, because (a) has the first letter of each of two lines of the following column, and they do not correspond with (b).

Frag. (a). Col. i is mostly illegible; it contained accounts of money.

COL. II.

[Αλαβα]ντιδος
 Φαιης Αρβηχιος Γω
 ων αναφοραι
 Χοιαχ υ Τυβι νμ Μεχειρ
 [ε]ως Φαρμουθι ανα τ ↑
 Παχων εως Επειφ ανα σ χ

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

[6]

Μεσορη σξ Θωυθ τ
[Φ]αωφι φκ Αθυρ τπ / 'Γω

Ψεοννωφρεως

Πασις Παστερναχθιος 'Α 10

ων αναφοραι

Χοιαχ και Τυβι ανα οβ ρμδ

[Μεχ]ειρ [εως Φαρμο]υθι ανα ξε ρρε

[Παχων] εως Επειφ ανα ν [ρ]ν

[Μεσορη]τβ 15

Frag. (b).

COL. I.

γινεται ζυτηρας πγ'Δτ

ων αναφοραι

Χοιαχ 'Βπε Τυβι 'Βρλε

Μεχειρ 'Αχξ]- Φαμενωθ 'Αχξ]-

Φαρμουθι 'Αχλβ]- Παχων 'Αρη]- 20

Παυνι 'Αρη]- Επειφ 'Αρη]-

Μεσορη 'Αφξη Θωυθ Λωση

Φαωφι 'Δσνδ Αθυρ 'Βρλδ

Νιτρικων

Πτολεμαιδος της Νεας 'Β[25

COL. II.

Συρων κω[μης 30

Ωρος Σεμθε[ως

Νεχθοσιρις .[

επιβαλλ[

Αυηρεως Νεβ[λας

[...]ος Ωρου

(Traces of four more lines.)

XXV.

CORN ACCOUNT.

7 × 14 cm.

This is the end of an account dealing with different kinds of corn. It contains the last two entries, giving the amount *απο του φορικου*, and that from *Νέστου ἐποίκιον*, followed by the totals, with an addition for *στεφανος*: unfortunately the purpose of the Crown is illegible. Amounts given in barley and olyra are reduced to their equivalents in wheat: barley at the rate of 5 to 3 ($772\frac{1}{2}$ art. = $463\frac{1}{2}$, and 720 art. = 432 of wheat), and olyra at the rate of 5 to 2 ($151\frac{3}{4}$ art. = $605\frac{1}{2}$ of wheat). Cf. XXIX, Introd.

[και] απο του φορικου κριθ(ων) ρξβγ
 [κα]ι εκ του Νέστου επ(οικίου) ολυρ(ων) σν
 [/] πυ(ρων) σπβζγκδ κριθ(ων) φοβζ αι πυ(ρων) υξγζ
 [ο]λυρων Αφιγλγίβ αι πυ(ρων) χεζ / πυ(ρων) Ατναλγίβ
 στε(φανου) ειστο . ν πυρ(ων) σξζγκδ κριθ(ων) ψκζκδ
 [αι πυ(ρων)] υλβ ολυρ(ων) φκδ αι πυ(ρων) [ση

XXVI.

LAND REPORTS.

There are four fragments of this document, which do not fit together. They are written on both sides, but no complete lines are preserved. On the *recto* was an account of land and crops, the general formula of which can be easily constructed: a proper name, an area, the rate, the resulting number of artabae (evidently the rent), the nature of the crop, and the amount of seed. The rate at which the rent is calculated is $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae an aoura, except in one case, where a lot of 44 aourae is divided into 34 at $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 10 at $3\frac{1}{2}$; the amount of seed is in nearly all cases one artaba for the aoura. The rent and seed are then added together. It appears that the owners, who were all Greeks, some at least of them 100-aoura, and some 80-aoura cleruchs, received a loan of seed, which was repaid with

[6*]

the rent from the produce of the next harvest. The rent is always estimated in wheat; amounts in barley are reduced to their equivalent in wheat at the rate of 5 to 3, amounts in olyra at the rate of 5 to 2. A specimen entry would be:—ο Δεινα του Δεινος αρ(ουρων) λ ανα δλ (αρταβαι) ρλε, πυ(ρωι), σπ(ερμα) πυ(ρου) λ / ρξε A., son of B., 30 arourae at $4\frac{1}{2}$ = 135 artabae, crop wheat, seed of wheat 30 artabae. Total, 165 artabae.

Sometimes the area is divided up according to the nature of the land or difference in the crops; for instance, the longest entry runs:—αρ(ουρων) ροβ ανα δλ (αρταβαι) ψοδ/ πυ(ρωι) ρμθ (αρταβαι) χολ, [αβρο(χου) ιε,] (αρταβαι) ξζλ, πεφαργγωμενης η, (αρταβαι) λς, σπ(ερμα) πυ(ρου) ρμδ, [κριθης] κε αι πυ(ρου) ιε, ολ(υρων) ιβλ αι πυ(ρου) ε, / πυ(ρου) ρξδ; which means that the rent of 172 arou. at $4\frac{1}{2}$ art. is 774 art.: 149 arou. (rent $670\frac{1}{2}$ art.) were sown with wheat, 15 arou. (rent $67\frac{1}{2}$ art.) were not irrigated, 8 arou. (rent 36 art.) were gullied. The seed lent was 144 art. of wheat, 25 art. of barley = 15 of wheat, $12\frac{1}{2}$ art. of olyra = 5 of wheat. Total, 164 art. of wheat.

The word *πεφαργγωμενη* does not, so far as I know, occur elsewhere; but the adjective *φαργγωδης* is a common epithet of places broken up by chasms or gullies.

There is nothing else on the *recto* worth publishing, except perhaps a list of the names. Owing to the way in which the papyrus is torn down the middle of the columns, when the names are preserved most of the details are lost, and vice versa. The names completely preserved are:—Αλκετης Χαρικλεους, Νικανωρ Ασκληπιαδου, Πτολεμαιοσ Σωκρατου[s, Θεοδωρος Δωσιθεου, Σιμων Σιμωνος, Αλεξανδρος Ωρμινα (?), Φιλωνιδης Αρεως, Ησιοδος Αλεξανδρου, Θεομνηστος Θεοδοτου, Ηρακλειδης Δωριωνος, Ηρακλειτος Φιλιππου, Λυσιμαχος Αβδαιου, Διοσκουριδης Σιμωνος, Ζωπυρος Φιλωνος, Απολλοδωρος Μελεαγρου.

The *verso* also dealt with cleruchic land; but the meaning is not clear. It refers to the 9th, 10th, and 11th years, probably of Philopator, and to payments in those years. The nature of the payment is nearly always omitted; but it is generally a multiple of ten. To this amount were added yearly one artaba for *γραμματικον* and five-sixths of an artaba for *φυλακιτικον*. In one instance the main payment is called *αγο* (), probably *αγο(ραστου)*. In another the abbreviation *πρ* ()—perhaps identical with *πρα* () of P. Tebt. 91 and 93—is used. This entry presents several peculiar features: *πρ* () appears before two numbers, but is cancelled before the first, and *αγο* is substituted for it; the numbers

are $3\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{16}$, and $3\frac{1}{16}$ (that is, 7 in all), whereas in all the other entries the amount is a multiple of ten. The fraction, one-sixteenth of an artaba, is, I think, without parallel in Ptolemaic times, and on the *recto* of this papyrus even one-eighth is avoided, since $6\frac{1}{4}$ arourae at $4\frac{1}{2}$ is given as $28\frac{1}{8}$ artabae instead of $28\frac{1}{4}$; and the amount of the *φυλακτικον* is different. The account was divided up into short sections, with tots at the end of each; but in most cases the headings are lost. Four of them are preserved, at least partially: (1) *των εν τωι κληρουχικωι*, which probably means those whose names appeared in a list (*λογος*) of cleruchs; (2) those whose holdings have been sown (with corn); (3) those whose holdings are sown with grass; (4) those whose names we do not find in the list of cleruchs. I print the two principal fragments.

(a).

] . μα()

τω]ν εν τωι κληρουχικωι

] θλ λ γρ. α φυ. λγ / λαλγ

ων ο]ι κλ(ηροι) εσπαρμενοι

] . . ιβ ιλ [[^{αγο}πρ()]] γλδγίς πρ() γίς φυ. β γρ. . 6

]γλγ φυ. λ / δγ

]ηλδγβ φυ. ας γρ. α / ιδλγίβ

ων οι] κληροι σπειρονται νομας

]ιος ιαλ ι γρ. α φυ. λγ / ιαλγ

[ιλ ι γρ. α φυ. λγ / ιαλγ / κ γρ. β φυ. αβ / κγβ 10

] . . ιαλ ι γρ. α φυ λγ / ιαλγ ιλ ιαλγ

[/ κ γρ. β φυ.] αβ / κγβ

(b).

Νικαιος Ευαγριου ιαλ ι γρ. α φυ. λγ / ιαλγ ιλ ι γρ. α [φυ. λγ

/ ιαλγ θλ ιαλγ

/ ιαλ κ γρ. β φυ. αβ / κγβ ιλ ι γρ. α φυ. λγ/ιαλγ

θλ κ γρ. β φυ. αβ / κγβ

/ αγρ() ν γρ. ε φυ. δς / νθς 5

και ων ουχ ευρισκομεν εν τωι κληρουχικωι

Δωσιθεος ιL ιαLγ' θL ιαLγ' / κγβ

Ηρακλειδης ιL ιαLγ'

/ ιαL κ γρ. β φυ. αβ / κγβ' θL ιαLγ'

/ λ γρ. γ φυ. βL / λεL

10

The totals in lines 3-5 may be summarized thus:—

	αγο.	γραμ.	φυ.	Tot.
11th year, . . .	20	2	1½	23½
10th year, . . .	10	1	½, ½	11½, ½
9th year, . . .	20	2	1½	23½
Total, . . .	50	5	4½	59½

1. The name of Nicaeus must have been preceded by that of another who paid in the 9th and 11th, but not in the 10th year; or by those of two persons, one of whom paid in the 9th, the other in the 11th only. Compare the next entry, where Dositheus paid in both the 9th and 10th, Heracleides in the 10th only.

10. ιαL seems to be a mistake for ιL.

XXVII.

ASSESSMENT OF PERSONS.

16 × 42 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

This papyrus contains the concluding columns of what must have been a long and elaborate document. It was an account arranged according to villages: the name of a village is given, then the total number of persons (σώματα), which is separated into the number of males and the number of females: the males are estimated at 4 obols, the females at 1½ each. Two similar documents are known, one in PP. III. 93, the other in Lille pap. I. 10; but they are both incomplete and fragmentary, and the meaning was, and is, obscure. In the Lille papyrus the rate is different, 1 dr. for a male, and 3 obols for a female; but the Petrie papyrus is a very close

parallel: in it the rate is the same, and the only difference in arrangement is that the amounts of money are calculated separately for each village, and in each case there is a list of dates on which money was paid; the total amount paid is then subtracted from the amount due, leaving a remainder still unpaid. In one case (Col. vii. 6)—and probably there were more—a further deduction is made for 14 *φυλακίται* at the same rate; which must mean that the *φυλακίται* were exempt. From the heading *Περσεας δια Θεοδωρον* (ib. 7) I deduce that Theodorus was the collector for the village of Persea, and responsible for the payment of the whole amount, as reduced by the proper proportion for the persons exempted.

Of the first three columns of the Petrie papyrus, only the upper part, containing about six lines, is preserved, and unfortunately the writing is almost completely washed out. The first column began with a heading, which might have removed all difficulties of interpretation; but, after carefully studying it again, I can only make out that it began with a date *ζ παρα . ν ωνος*; the next two lines are quite illegible; then follows:—

[.] του λογι[σ]τηριου επι
 [. κα]ι τον βασιλικον γραμματεια
 και τους κωμογραμματεις εις

Of the first four lines of the second col. only a few spots of ink remain here and there; the fifth records a remainder of 312 dr. 5 ob.; the sixth is *εστιν φυλακικων και εφοδων των μετα του.*

The third col. had entries headed *Αρχελαιδος* and *Μητροδωρου εποικιον*, but the details are illegible.

The present papyrus must have been divided into a series of districts, each containing several villages; at the end of the section dealing with each district was an estimate of the total number of persons in it, followed by a calculation of the corresponding money at the rate of 4 obols for a male and $1\frac{1}{2}$ for a female. The portion preserved gives the details for the last of these districts: it contained seven or more villages, but the names of only four of them are preserved. Of these, *Ερμαφίλου κωμη*, if the restoration is correct, is not known, nor is *Ισιειον του Αιγιαλου*; they must both have been, like all the other villages of this part of the document, in the Division of Themistes, so that this *Isieion* must be different from that of PP. III. 106, which was probably in *Heracleides*; it was evidently a small place on the shore of lake Moeris, like *Philoteris* and *Dionysias*, the

sites of which are known. Two of the entries are quite illegible, and there may have been one or more villages at the bottom of the preceding column. The details preserved may be tabulated thus:—

Village.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
(), . .	145	79	66
Village of Hermaphilus, .	230	120	110
Isieion Aigialou, . .	38	20	18
(Two illegible entries),			
Philoteris, . . .	719	370 + a	340 + b
Dionysias, . . .	712	371	341
	1844	960 + a	875 + b
(Missing numbers), . .	775	417 - a	367 - b
Total, . . .	2916	1377	1242

1377 males at 4 obols = 918 dr.

1242 females at $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob. = 310 dr. 3 ob. Total, 1228 dr. 3 ob.

This is followed by a supplementary column giving *φυλακτικον εργαστηριων* for eight villages, which are all in the Division of Themistes, and probably in the North-West part of that Division: the sites of the first four are known (see P. Tebt. II. App.).

On the *verso* is a table giving the totals for nine districts: in the first line is entered the number of males in each district, in the second the corresponding amount of money, in the third the number of females, in the fourth the amount of money for them: finally the numbers are added horizontally and vertically. The few lost numbers can be restored with certainty by calculation, because there is a double check upon them. There is one error in the table, in the sixth col., where 752 women are estimated at 188 dr. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; but this superfluous $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob., although it appears in the total of the district, is not taken into account in the final addition of the last column. I have omitted it in the following table, but have marked the numbers which are wrong in the original with a star. In the Greek notation

horizontal addition is as easy as vertical, but for the convenience of modern calculation I have arranged the rows of the original as columns.

	Males.	Drach.	Females.	Drach.	Total of drachmae.
I.	789	526	793	198 $1\frac{1}{2}$	724 $1\frac{1}{2}$
II.	782	521 2	713	178 $1\frac{1}{2}$	699 $3\frac{1}{2}$
III.	1288	858 4	1183	295 $4\frac{1}{2}$	1154 $2\frac{1}{2}$
IV.	1514	1009 2	1644	411	1420 2
V.	926	617 2	840	210	827 2
VI.	917	611 2	752	*188	*799 2
VII.	628	418 4	573	143 $1\frac{1}{2}$	561 $5\frac{1}{2}$
VIII.	574	382 4	513	128 $1\frac{1}{2}$	510 $5\frac{1}{2}$
IX.	1377	918	1242	310 3	1228 3
	8795	5863 2	8253	2063 $1\frac{1}{2}$	7926 $3\frac{1}{2}$

The last district corresponds to the details preserved on the *recto*. There are two more small fragments, which both come from the bottom of earlier columns: one of them has a number 968, in one line, and in the next 11 dr. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob., which would correspond to 45 women; the other has the words [Αρχ]ελαιδος σωματα οε λαρ[σενικα.

COL. I.

[.] ρμε λαρσενικα οθ
 [θηλυκα] ξς
 [Ε]ρ[μ]αφιλου κωμης σλ λαρσενικα ρκ
 θηλυκα ρι
 Ισιειου του Αιγιαλου λη λαρσενικα κ 5
 θηλυκα ιη

(Four illegible lines.)

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

[7]

COL. II.

Φιλωτερ[ιδ]ος φιθ [/αρσενικα το
 θηλυκα τμ[.
 Διονυσιαδ[ος] ψιβ /αρσενικα τ[ο]α
 θηλυκα τμα
 / των τοπων σωματα 'Βχιθ/
 αρσενικα 'Α[τ]οζ (ανα)]- ι-τη
 θηλυκα 'Ασμβ (ανα) -C τις | ι-Ασκη]

COL. III.

[φυλα]κιτικον εργαστηριων
 Θεαδελφ[ειας] ο
 Ευημεριας ξς
 Διονυσιαδος λ[
 Φιλωτεριδος μδ[
 Κανωπου ι
 Πολυδευκειας λη]
 Σεθρεμπαιτος [
 Αρχελαιδος .[
 ι τς

Verso.

[αρ ψπθ ψπβ 'Ασπη] 'Αφιδ[η]κς ηιζ χκη φοδ 'Ατοζ ι'Ηφρε
 [ι-] φ[κς φ]κα= ωνη]- 'Αθ= χιζ= χια= υιη]- τπβ]- ηιη ι-Εωξγ=
 θη ψqγ ψιγ 'Αρπγ 'Αχμδ [ω]μ ψνβ φογ φιγ 'Ασμβ ι'Ησινγ
 ι- ρqη-C ροη-C σqε]-C υ[ια] σι ρπη-C ρμγ-C ρκη-C τις ι-Βξγ-C
 / ψκδ-C χqθ]C 'Αρνδ=C 'Αυκ= ωκζ= ψqθ]C φξaf=C φις=C 'Ασκη] /πα'Αηκ[ς]C

XXVIII.

ACCOUNTS

12 × 15 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

There are two different accounts written on the *recto* of this papyrus, one along, the other across, the fibres. The former consists of a list of names, with days of the month, and the amounts paid on those days; but there is no indication of the nature or of the purpose of the payments. The names, so far as they are preserved, are:—[Δ]ιονυσιος, [Α]πολλωνιος, [.]ρηρις, [.]θοροπις, Τεως, Πετοσιρις, [.]εγροσις, [.]εεντελους, Πασις, Αμοννευς, Αρτεμιδωρος, Αρεως, Αριστοβ(ουλος), Χρυσιπ(πος), and Αμυντας. The writing is very small, square, and archaic; it should probably, and, if the date is correctly read in the second entry, must be ascribed to the reign of Philadelphus. The second entry is written across the fibres in a slightly larger but similar hand:—

Κανωπιαδος εως Παχω[ν] τ
 L κη (πυρου) 'Δυμγλ κρ(ιθης) ρο . [
 και προσεισεληλυθεν του Πα[υ]νι τ ζ
 ̄ λβ ̄β πίβ ̄κε ξβζγίβ ̄κξ καγ
 | (πυρου) Σγγ' | 'Δχμςζγ' υπερ ροζβ' 5

1. The account for Κανωπιας, which was in the Division of Themistes, up to a certain day of Pachon. The beginning of the next line is very doubtful; but I cannot suggest anything else; either εως Παχων του κηL or Lκη εως Παχων would have been more natural.

5. The additional payments, made on stated days of Payni, amounted to 203½ art. of wheat, and are added to the previous 4443½, making a total of 4646½. The meaning of υπερ is obscure; but it probably refers to the amount of barley in l. 2.

[7]

XXIX.

ACCOUNTS.

19 × 17 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

This papyrus came from the same piece of cartonnage as XXVIII, and is written in a very similar, possibly the same, hand, so that it may be ascribed to the end of the reign of Philadelphus. It contains a series of accounts written in very narrow columns. Each column is headed by a proper name; underneath is a list of the names of months, accompanied by numbers of things denoted by ν . These numbers are then added together and converted into barley at the rate of 2 art. for every 3; but in one case (col. v) the rate is specially stated, probably because it was exceptional, as 3 art. for every 4. This is followed by a series of payments in different months of amounts of wheat and barley, introduced by the word $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota$. The horizontal fibres of the papyrus below these columns are torn away for a width of 4.5 cm., and lower down are *disiecta membra* of at least seven similar accounts, which were much shorter and arranged rather irregularly. They indicate, however, that after the list of payments there were further entries introduced by the words $\lambdaοιπαι κρ(ιθης)$.

The interpretation of the document depends on the meaning of the abbreviation ν , which might stand for any word beginning with $\nu\omicron$ or with $\omicron\nu$. The facts that the corresponding numbers are always integers, and that the equivalent in barley is described in col. iii as a $\phi\nu(\lambdaακιτικον)$, suggest that the numbers refer to animals: compare P. Petrie III. cix b. 10 $\epsilon\nu\nuομιον πρ(οβατων) συν \phi\nu(\lambdaακιτικωι) και αιγων ωσαντως και υποδιφθερων πρ(οβατων) \phi\nu(\lambdaακιτικον)$. Hence it is not unlikely that the abbreviation stands for $\omicron\nu(\omega\nu)$, and that the men were appointed to watch and protect herds of donkeys, and were paid at a fixed rate in barley proportional to the number of animals. It should be noticed that the payments are always very much in arrear, and are made sometimes in barley, sometimes in wheat at the rate of one art. of wheat for two of barley. This rate of conversion is not normal: the usual ratio of the value of wheat to that of barley was 5:3, to that of olyra 5:2, as in P. Hib. 85, 14 (261 B.C.), P. Petr. III. 80a, P. Tebt. 61b, 258; 246 and 261 (cf. p. 560); but I think there is a similar conversion in P. Soc. It. 388, 49. There the editors, who did not understand the formula of conversion, read $\delta\lambdaυρ\omega\nu \mu$

αι κρ(ιθῶν) η αι π̃ κ. If the rates had been normal, this would have been ὀλυρῶν μ αἱ κρ(ιθῶν) κςβ' αἱ πυ(ρῶν) ις; but since these numbers are obviously impossible, and the number η must be wrong, we should, I think, read ὀλυρῶν μ αἱ κρ(ιθῶν) μ αἱ πυ(ρῶν) κ, that is, 40 art. of olyra = 40 art. of barley = 20 art. of wheat; this makes the value of olyra and barley equal, and half that of wheat. For a conversion of equality we may compare l. 41 of the same papyrus, χαλκοῦ ξ αἱ πυ(ρῶν) ξ, and l. 52, ι-λγ] αἱ πυ(ρῶν) λγλ.

Of the first col. a few of the numbers only are preserved, and the amount in barley, 123½ art., which would correspond to 185 donkeys. Of the sixth col. we have the name Ζηνων at the top, and the names of the months from Thoth to Tubi. The first line is a later addition written in the upper margin, and extending over columns ii-iv.

ν̄ ρκς | κρ(ιθης)πδ . κρ(ιθης) λθλγ' πυ(ρου) κβδ' αι κρ(ιθης) μδλ | πδγ'

COL. II.

COL. III.

Απολλωνιος	χειρισ			Βως	Θωυθ	ν̄	κδ
Επειφ	ν̄	μζ		Φαωφι		ιβ	
Μεσορη	κδ			Αθυρ		β	15
Θωυθ	λε	5		Χοιαχ		η	
Φαωφι	κ			Τυβι		ι[η]	
Αθυρ	λε			/ ν̄ ξδ	φυ(λακιτικον)	κρ(ιθης)	μ[ββ']
Χοιαχ	ιδ			εχει	Θωυθ	[κρ(ιθης) α]	
Τυβι	ουθεν			Φαωφι	κρ(ιθης)	ζ	πυ(ρου) α
/ ν̄ ροε	κρ(ιθης)	ρς	10	Αθυρ	κρ(ιθης)	η	20
εχει	Μεσορη	πυ(ρου) ε		Χοιαχ	κρ(ιθης)	ιαλ	
Θωυθ	πυ(ρου)	γ		/ κρ(ιθης)	κζλ	πυ(ρου) α	αι κρ(ιθης) β
.				/ κρ(ιθης)	[κθλ]		
							

COL. IV.

COL. V.

Ωρος ^{και} Σισουχου ^s 25	Πυθοδαρος
Θωνθ ^ν κς	Θωνθ ^ν μθ
Φαωφι κα	Φαωφι π
Αθυρ ιβ	Αθυρ ουθεν 40
Χοιαχ κ	Χοιαχ ρν
/ οθ κρ(ιθης) νββ 30	Τυβι ουθεν
Θωνθ πυ(ρου) γ	ρπς / ^ν σοθ αυ(α) λδ κρ(ιθης) σθδ /
Φαωφι πυ(ρου) γ κρ(ιθης) η	εχει Θωνθ κρ(ιθης) ε
Αθυρ κρ(ιθης) γ	Φαωφι κρ(ιθης) λβ
Χοιαχ πυ(ρου) δλ κρ(ιθης) ιςλ	Αθυρ κρ(ιθης) λ
Τυβι ουθεν 35	Χοιαχ κρ(ιθης) ξγλ
/ κρ(ιθης) κζλ πυρου) ιλ	/ κρ(ιθης) ρλλ πυ(ρου) β αι κρ(ιθης) αγ
. . . , . . .	

25. The writer has corrected Ωρος Σισουχου into Ωρος και Σισουχος.

43. In the margin are three letters, probably ρπς. If so, this number represents the amount of barley calculated at the normal rate of 2 : 3, instead of 3 : 4. ($\frac{2}{3}$ of 279 = 186.)

48. The wheat in the total is not accounted for in the details.

INDICES.

I.

GEOGRAPHICAL.

Ἀθηναῖος. 2. 38.
Αἰγύπτιος. 12. 6.
Αἰνιάν. 7. 3.
Ἀλαβαντίς. 24. 1.
Ἀλεξάνδρου Νῆσος. 13. 3; 17. 5.
Ἀνδρομαχίς. 20. 2.
Ἀνουβιάς. 18. 18.
Ἀπολλωνιάς. 8. 2, 6.
Ἀράβων Κώμη. 14. 5.
Ἀρσινόης. 2. 4, 7, 16, 32; 9. 1.
Ἀρχελαίς. 27. 26.
Αὔρις Νέβλα. 24. 34.
Ἀφροδίσιον. 22. 22.
Ἀφροδίτης Πόλις. 23. 23.

Βερνικίς. 13. 22.
Βουκόλων Κώμη. 18. 9, 15.

Διονυσιάς. 27. 13, 21.

Ἐλευσίς. 23. 26.
Ἐρμαῖον. 22. 37.
Ερμαφίλου Κώμη. 27. 3.
Εὐημερία. 27. 20.

Ἡρακλείδου Ἐποίκιον. 23. 7.
Ἡρακλείδου μερίς. 9. 1.

Θεαδελφεία. 27. 19.
Θεοξενίς. 18. 11.
Θρᾷξ. 2. 34.

Ἱερὰ Νῆσος. 23. 37.
Ἱσιεῖον Αἰγιαλοῦ. 27. 5.
Ἰουδαίος. 2. 12, 13; 8. 10.

Κανωπιάς. 28. 1.
Κάνωπος. 27. 23.
Κερκεοσίρις. 8. 14; 18. 3, 7.
Κερκεσήφισ. 4. 5.
Κερκεσοῦχα. 22. 5.
Κροκοδύλων Πόλις. 2. 4, 16; 10. 7.
Λαγίδος Κώμη. 13. 17.
Λητοῦς Πόλις. 14. 4.
Λυσιμαχίς. 5. 1, 5.

Μακεδών. 18. 2.
Μίμφις. 23. 33, 34.

Μιθραῖον. 22. 10.
Μοῦχις. 23. 13, 14.

Ναχβανεύς. 22. 6.
Νέβλα. 24. 34.
Νέστου Ἐποίκιον. 25. 2.
Νεφθιμειών. 22. 45.

Πανώ. 22. 48.
Πέρσης. 2. 34.
Πολυδευκία. 19. 7; 27. 24.
Πτολεμαῖς ἡ Νέα. 24. 25.
Πύρρεια. 17. 1.

Σαμάρεια. 4. 6.
Σαχμειών. 22. 43.
Σεθρεμπαῖς. 27. 25.
Σύρων Κώμη. 24. 30.

Τεβτῆνις. 23. 1, 4, 9.

Φιλωτερίς. 27. 11, 22.

Ψεοννῶφρις. 24. 9.

II.

PERSONAL NAMES.

Ἀβδαῖος. 26. *Introd.*
Ἀβιστίς. 22. 14.
Ἀβρακος. 13. 11.
Ἀγάθων. 15. 1; 17. 2.
Ἀγήνωρ. 13. 9.
Αἰγυπτος. 13. 12.
Αἴλουρος. 3. 9.
Ἀλέξανδρος. 13. 4; 15. 1; 26.
Introd. bis.

Ἀλκίτης. 26. *Introd.*
Ἀμονεύς. 26. *Introd.*
Ἀμύντας. 28. *Introd.*
Ἄμωσις. 8. 2, 6.
Ἀνδρόνικος. 3. 15; 22. 1.
Ἄνδρων. 2. 5.
Ἀνίκητος. 13. 20.
Ἀντίμαχος. 13. 24.
Ἀντιφάνης. 17. 3.

Ἀπίων. 2. 15.
Ἀπολλόδωρος. 9. 10; 23. 2; 26.
Introd.
Ἀπόλλων. 15. 2.
Ἀπολλώνιος. 16. 9; 28. *Introd.*;
29. 2.
Ἀρβήγχις. 24. 21.
Ἀρέμβασις. 22. 39.
Ἄρεως. 28. *Introd.*

Ἄρης. 26. *Introd.*
 Ἀρθνίς. 22. 7.
 Ἀριδαῖος. 22. 33.
 Ἀρίσταρχος. 22. 47.
 Ἀριστίδης. 2. 37.
 Ἀριστόβουλος. 26. *Introd.*
 Ἀριστόκριτος. 13. 1.
 Ἀριστόμαχος. 2. 7.
 Ἀρίων. 13. 23.
 Ἀρσινόη. 3. 7, 22.
 Ἀρτεμίδωρος. 26. *Introd.*
 Ἀρνώτης. 3. 3.
 Ἀσιόγονος. 18. 14.
 Ἀσκληπιάδης. 18. 13; 26. *Introd.*
 Ἀὔγχις. 22. 44.
 Ἀφύγχις. 13. 16.

Βερενίκη. 2. 30.
 Βριμώ. 1. 5.
 Βως. 29. 13.

Γαλιέστης. 2. 29.
 Γῶβις. 22. 18.

Δημήτηρ. 1. 6, 21.
 Δημήτριος. 3. 19; 18. 4; 22. 23.
 Διόδωρος. 13. 1.
 Διομήδης. 2. 5.
 Διονύσιος. 11. 1; 20. 2, 4; 28. *Introd.*
 Διόνυσος. 1. 23.
 Διόσδοτος. 2. 13; 15. 1.
 Διοσκουρίδης. 26. *Introd.*
 Διοτρήφης. 2. 6.
 Δωρίων. 26. *Introd.*
 Δωρόθεος. 22. 28.
 Δωσίθεος. 2. 12, 35; 8. 9; 26. *Introd.*; b. 7.

Εἰρήνη. 13. 11; 22. 34.
 Ἐπιγένης. 13. 6.
 Ἐστιάιος. 22. 33.
 Εὐάγριος. 26. b. 1.
 Εὐβουλεύς. 1. 18.
 Εὐίης. 1. 19.

Ζαῖσος (?). 13. 10.
 Ζηνόθεμις. 2. 5.
 Ζήνων. 18. 6.
 Ζώπυρος. 2. 34; 26. *Introd.*

Ἡδύλος. 22. 20.
 Ἡράκλεια. 2. 9, 12, 18, 37, 41.
 Ἡρακλείδης. 26. *Introd.*; b. 8.
 Ἡράκλειτος. 26. *Introd.*

Ἡράκων. 8. 3, 7.
 Ἡσιόδος. 26. *Introd.*
 Ἡφαιστίων. 18. 10.
 Θεόγεος. 13. 13.
 Θεόδοτος. 3. 4, 6; 18. 8; 26. *Introd.*
 Θεόδωρος. 26. *Introd.*
 Θεόμνηστος. 26. *Introd.*
 ... θεσενουφίς. 3. 11.
 Θεοφάνης. 2. 5.
 Θεόφιλος. 8. 9.
 Θίων. 18. 10.
 Θυήρις. 22. 11.

Ἰάσων. 13. 12.
 Ἰέλλας. 22. 49.
 Ἰμούθης. 21. 1.
 Ἰναρῶς. 22. 41.
 Κάγχις. 13. 26.
 Καλλικράτης. 16. 11.
 Κάλλιππος. 2. 18, 23, 24.
 Κόνων. 3. 7.
 Κουρήτες. 1. 7.
 Κώλις. 13. 17.

Λεωνίδης. 18. 6.
 Λυσίμαχος. 26. *Introd.*
 Μαϊάνδριος. 2. 5.
 Μέρων. 22. 20.
 Μελέαγρος. 26. *Introd.*
 Μηνόδωρος. 3. 13.
 Μιθροδάτης. 22. 2.
 Μιράσιςτις. 22. 13.
 Μύρτιον. 22. 27.
 Νεχθόσιρις. 24. 32.
 Νίκαιος. 26. b. 1.
 Νικάνωρ. 26. *Introd.*
 Νικίας. 2. 34.

Ὀβεστερταῖς. 22. 39.
 Ὀμεννίς. 22. 7.
 Ὀννώφρις. 22. 9.
 Ὀπάις. 22. 18.
 Ὀρεννίς. 22. 39.

Παγώνβιος. 14. 7.
 Πάις. 3. 2.
 Πάλλας. 1. 21.
 Πᾶσις. 22. 9; 24. 10; 26. *Introd.*
 Παστέρναχθις. 24. 10.
 Πασύτις. 2. 16, 17.
 Παῶπις. 23. 3.
 Παῶς. 9. 2, 7.
 Πειθόλαος. 8. 4, 7, 8, v.
 Πετσοῦχος. 3. 3; 5. 4; 15. 2; 16. 1.
 Πετῆσις. 5. 1.

Πετοσίρις. 22. 31; 28. *Introd.*
 Πικεπαίγος. 1. 22.
 Πολυδεύκης. 2. 6, 8, 32.
 Πολυκλῆς. 2. 5.
 Ποσειδώνιος. 22. 46.
 Πρόξενος. 18. 12.
 Πρώταρχος. 21. 2.
 Πρωτέας. 2. 38.
 Πτολεμαῖος. 2. 42; 15. 1; 22. 30; 26. *Introd.*
 Πυρρίας. 18. 4.
 Πυθόδωρος. 29. 37.
 Ρέα. 1. 6.

Σαβαθῶις. 22. 49.
 Σαραπίων. 13. 13.
 Σεληνός. 22. 46.
 Σεμβεύς. 24. 31.
 Σήραμβος. 9. 3, 6.
 Σίμων. 26. *Introd.*
 Σισίνης. 22. 32.
 Σισοῦχος. 29. 25.
 Σοκθῶπος. 5. 3.
 Σοκομήνης. 5. 2.
 Σοκῶνς. 3. 10.
 Σόλων. 4. 1.
 Σύμμαχος. 2. 34; 22. 23.
 Σωκράτης. 18. 12; 26. *Introd.*
 Σώνικος. 2. 6.
 Σωσίβιος. 7. 2 bis.
 Σωσίπολις. 2. 30.

Τελοῦφίς. 8. 10.
 Τετοσίρις. 22. 25.
 Τεῶς. 3. 10; 8. 1, 2, v; 20. 1 bis.
 Τεῶνς. 27. *Introd.*
 Τήρης. 19. 4.
 Τίμαιος. 8. 10.
 Τοβοῆς. 16. 1.
 Τυδεύς. 22. 29.

Φαιῆς. 22. 2; 24. 2.
 Φανήσις. 3. 12; 13. 14.
 Φιλάδελφος. 7. 7.
 Φίλιππος. 3. 6; 26. *Introd.*
 Φιλιστίνος. 2. 29; 8. 9.
 Φίλιστος. 18. 16.
 Φίλων. 29. *Introd.*
 Φιλωνίδης. 26. *Introd.*

Χαιᾶπις. 22. 11.
 Χαρικλῆς. 26. *Introd.*
 Χρῦσιππος. 28. *Introd.*

Ψενείσις. 22. 25.

Ὠρμινας (?). 26. *Introd.*
 Ὠρος. 5. 4; 8. 9, 11; 14. 6; 15. 2; 22. 38; 24. 31, 35; 29. 25.

III.

GENERAL INDEX OF GREEK WORDS.

- ἄβροχος. 15. 18; 26. *Introd.*
 ἀγκάλη. 5. 8.
 ἀγο(). 26. 5.
 ἀδικεῖν. 2. 49.
 Ἀθύρ. 24. 8, 23; 29. 7, 15, 21,
 27, 33, 40, 46.
 αἰξ. 22. 5, 24, 36, 50.
 ἄλλα. 2. 44.
 ἄλλος. 2. 15, 45; 9. 6.
 ἄλυσις. 10. 3.
 ἄμα. 2. 38.
 ἄμπελος. 8. 12.
 ἀμπελοφυγικός. 8. 13.
 ἀμπελών. 8. v; 16. 4.
 ἀμφότερος. 2. 46.
 ἀνά. 19. 1; 24. 5, 6, 12, 13, 14;
 26. *saere*; 27. 16, 17.
 ἀναβολή. 2. 21.
 ἀνάγειν. 4. 2; 10. 7.
 ἀναγιγνώσκειν. 6. 4; 20. 1.
 ἀναγκάζειν. 5. 18.
 ἀναγράφειν. 21. 6.
 ἀναλίσκειν. 1. 27.
 ἀνατιθέμαι. 1. 16.
 ἀνοιγνύμαι. 10. 2.
 ἀνω. 1. 26.
 ἀντιγραφείς. 11. 2.
 ἀντίγραφον. 2. 8; 8. 4; 21. 3.
 ἀντιδικός. 2. 46.
 ἀντιλουδορεῖν. 2. 21.
 ἀναφορά. 3. 16; 13. 7, 23; 24.
 3, 11, 17.
 ἀξιοῦν. 2. 9; 10. 10.
 ἅπας. 10. 13.
 ἀπαιτεῖν. 13. 23.
 ἀπαναίνειν. 1. 20.
 ἀπέναντι. 2. 17.
 ἀπερείσιος. 1. 11.
 ἀπέχειν. 15. 3.
 ἀποδέχεσθαι. 2. 48.
 ἀποδικάζειν. 2. 49.
 ἀποκαθιστάμαι. 10. 14.
 ἀπολογεῖσθαι. 2. 39.
 ἀπομετρεῖν. 5. 13.
 ἀποστέλλειν. 21. 3.
 ἀποστολή. 13. 28.
 ἀποτεινέιν. 7. 11.
 ἀποτιθέμαι. 7. 11.
 ἀποφέρειν. 10. 2.
 ἀποχή. 7. 4.
 ἀργύριον. 7. 6.
 ἀργυροῦς. 10. 3.
 ἄρης. 22. 40, 42.
 ἄρνες. 22. *saere*.
 ἄρνον. 22. 3, 15, 34.
 ἄρουρα. 5. 12; 26. *saere*.
 ἄρσενικός. 27. *saere*.
 ἀρτάβη. 5. 11; 11. 3; 19. 6; 26.
saere.
 ἄσπορος. 18. 5.
 ἀστράγαλος. 1. 29.
 αὐτός. 2. 8, 47; 5. 17, 18; 6. 2;
 7, 10; 8. 11, 12; 10. 11; 11. 6;
 13. 24; 19. 3, 5; 20. 3; 23.
saere.
 αὐτοῦ. 16. 3.
 ἀφαιρεῖν. 8. 12.
 ἀφείσις. 9. 5, 8.
 ἀφιέναι. 10. 9.
 βαλανεῖον. 13. 8, 21.
 βαλανεύς. 13. 22.
 βαρύτερον. 5. 16.
 βασιλεύς. 2. 9, 42; 10. 5.
 βασιλικός. 5. 3, 9, 14; 8. 1, v;
 20. 5; 23. 3.
 βασίλισσα. 10. 6.
 βουκόλος. 1. 25.
 βούλεσθαι. 2. 39, 47; 6. 3.
 βρέχειν. 18. 6.
 γένημα. 5. 10.
 γεωργεῖν. 5. 9; 16. 5; 21. 4.
 γεωργός. 5. 3; 20. 2.
 γῆ. 5. 9.
 γιγνώσκειν. 2. 11.
 γίνεσθαι. 10. 5; 22. 4, 35; 24.
 16.
 γνώμη. 2. 45.
 γραμματεὺς. 8. 1, v; 23. 3.
 γραμματικόν. 26. *saere*.
 γραπτός. 2. 36, 39, 47.
 γράφειν. 2. 8, 11, 31, 43; 7. 3,
 10; 19. 7; 20. 4.
 γυνή. 2. 20.
 δέειν. 6. 2.
 δεχημέρα. 6. 4.
 διάγραμμα. 2. 10, 40, 42, 43, 44;
 7. 14.
 διαγράφειν. 20. 4.
 διακίεσθαι. 5. 16.
 διασαφεῖν. 20. 2, 6.
 διατελεῖν. 2. 25.
 δίδοναι. 1. 27; 8. 3; 21. 8.
 διέρχεσθαι. 13. 2.
 δικάζειν. 2. 26, 41.
 δίκαιος. 2. 45.
 δικαίωμα. 2. 39, 41.
 δικαστήριον. 2. 31, 47.
 δικαστής. 2. 5, 10.
 δίκη. 2. 11, 27, 31, 40, 49; 10.
 12.
 διό. 1. 27; 2. 26.
 Δίος. 12. 6.
 δίστι. 2. 19.
 διοτοκεῖν. 1. 3.
 δραχμή, ι. 7. 5, 13; 13. 6; 20.
 3.
 δρέπανον. 8. 13.
 δύνασθαι. 5. 16.
 Δύστρος. 2. 4, 11.
 δῶρον. 1. 11.
 ἐγγυᾶν. 7. 6.
 ἐγκλημα. 2. 12, 28, 33, 35.
 εἰδέναι. 2. 42; 8. 4.
 εἰκάζειν. 8. 14.
 εἰκοσιάρουρος, κΑ. 18. 5, 8.
 εἰρηκέναι. 2. 19; 13. 23.
 εἰς. 1. 23.
 εἰσαγωγεύς. 2. 6, 32.
 εἰσδοχή. 6. 1.
 ἕκαστος. 5. 12.
 ἑκάτερος. 2. 10, 47.
 ἑκατοντάουρος, ρΑ. 3. 19; 17. 2.
 ἐκπέμπειν. 6. 6.
 ἔκτη. 7. 6.
 ἐκτιθέμαι. 19. 3.
 ἐκτρέχειν. 8. 11.
 ἐκτρογᾶν. 8. 10.
 ἐκφόριον. 5. 15.
 ἐμβάλλειν. 1. 28.
 ἐμφανίζειν. 2. 43.
 ἐνεπισκήπτεσθαι. 2. 28.
 ἐννόμιον. 13. 9, 19.
 ἐνοπλος. 1. 7.
 ἐντευξίς. 2. 9.
 ἐνώπια. 2. 33.
 ἐξανιστάμαι. 2. 10.
 ἐπαναγκάζειν. 10. 13.
 ἐπεῖ. 5. 15.

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

[8]

ἐπειδὴ. 2. 40; 10. 10.
 Ἐπειφ. 8. 1, 5, 8, v.; 11. 7; 24.
 6, 14, 21; 29. 3.
 ἐπέργων, τῶν. 2. 34.
 ἐπέρχεσθαι. 8. 7.
 ἐπιγονή. 2. 13, 35, 38; 7. 3;
 8. 10.
 ἐπιδέχασθαι. 7. 1.
 ἐπικωλύειν. 11. 5.
 ἐπιμαρτύρεσθαι. 2. 26.
 ἐπισκοπεῖν. 10. 12.
 ἐπιστολή. 20. 1; 21. 2.
 ἐπιτάσσειν. 10. 4.
 ἐπιτιμᾶν. 2. 24.
 ἐποίκιον. 23. 7; 25. 2.
 ἐπτά. 5. 12.
 ἐργαστήριον. 23. 11, 29; 27. 18.
 ἔριφος. 22. 5, 24, 36, 50.
 ἔρρωσο. 6. 7; 8. 5; 11. 7; 13.
 28.
 ἐσθίειν. 1. 11.
 ἐσιέναι. 2. 14.
 ἔσπετρος. 1. 30.
 ἔτος, L. 2. 2, 11, 14, 28, 32; 3.
 5, 8, 22; 4. 1; 5. 11; 6. 7;
 7. 8, 9; 8. 1, v.; 11. 3, 7; 14.
 1; 26. 3; 28. 2.
 εὐρίσκειν. 1. 1; 26. b. 6.
 εὐχή. 1. 17.
 ἐφέλκειν. 13. 25.
 ἐφορᾶν. 1. 15.
 ἔχειν. 2. 33; 7. 12; 13. 27; 14.
 9; 29. 11, 19, 44.
 ἔως. 2. 22; 10. 9.
 ζυτηρά. 3. 13; 24. 16.
 ζυτικόν. 4. 6.
 ἡμέρα. 10. 16.
 θεός. 1. 24; 3. 11.
 θηλυκός. 27. *εαρε*.
 θησαυρός. 14. 5.
 θυσία. 10. 5.
 Θῶνθ. 24. 7, 22; 29. 5, 12, 13,
 26, 31, 38, 44.
 ἱερά. 1. 9.
 ἱερεὺς. 2. 2, 29.
 ἱερόν. 10. 14, 16.
 ἱερός. 10. 6.
 ἱμάτιον. 2. 21.
 ἱνα. 10. 12; 20. 4.
 καθά. 2. 13.
 καθίζειν. 2. 6, 9.
 καθότι. 7. 11.
 κακοποιεῖν. 8. 11.
 κάλαθος. 1. 28.
 καλεῖν. 1. 18; 2. 33, 46.
 καλός. 1. 9.

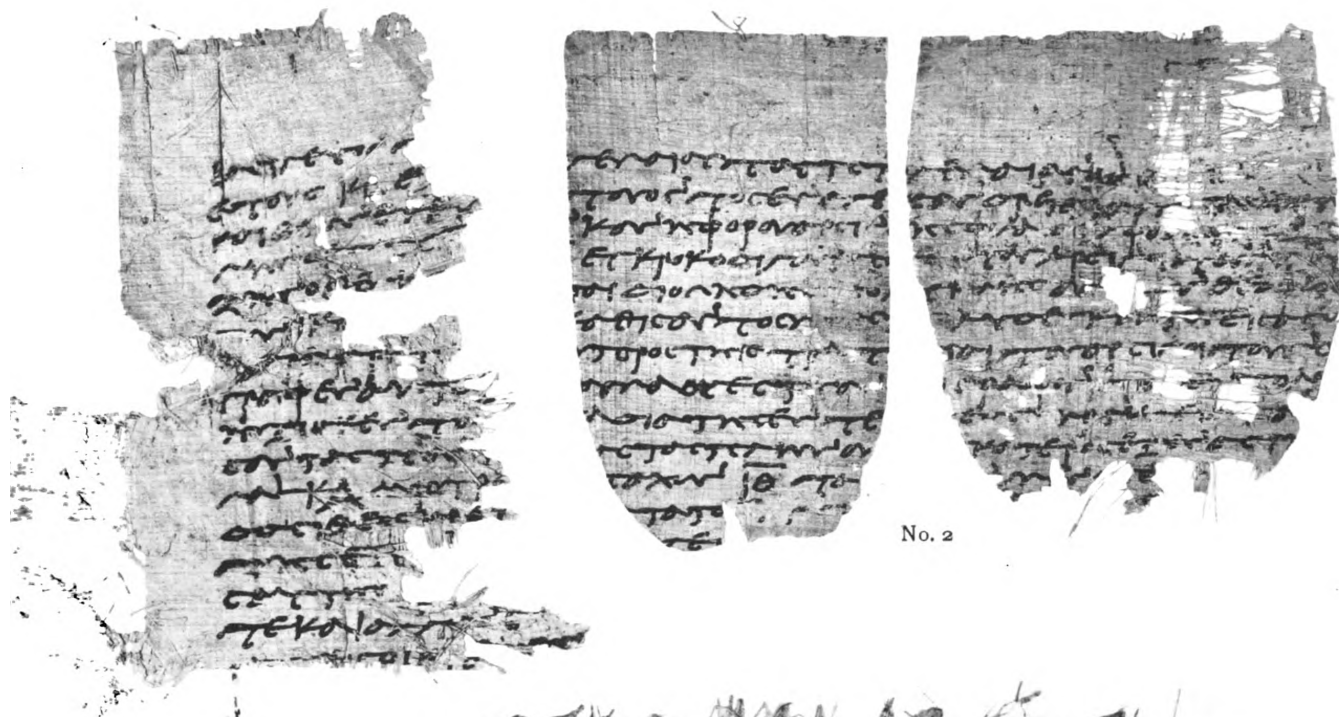
καλῶς. 5. 17.
 καταλαμβάνειν. 9. 6.
 κατηγορεῖν. 2. 14.
 κατοικεῖν. 8. 14.
 κάτω. 1. 26.
 κικλήσκειν. 1. 19.
 κλῆρος. 9. 3; 26. 8.
 κληρουχικός. 26. 2; b. 6.
 κλήτωρ. 2. 33.
 κλοιός. 10. 3.
 κόλπος. 1. 24.
 κόπτειν. 5. 8.
 κρίας. 1. 14.
 κρίθῃ. 4. 8; 23. *εαρε*; 25. 1, 3,
 5; 26. *Introd.*; 28. 2; 29.
εαρε.
 κρίνειν. 2. 49.
 κρίος. 1. 10.
 κύριος. 2. 37.
 κωμαρχεῖν. 5. 5.
 κωμάρχης. 5. 1.
 κώμη. 5. 1; 8. 6, 9; 9. 3; 18.
 13; 20. 2.
 κωμογραμματεὺς. 8. 2, 6.
 κῶνος. 1. 29.
 λαμβάνειν. 2. 21; 5. 7.
 λέγειν. 2. 15, 17; 6. 2.
 ληιστής. 8. 13.
 λίψ. 9. 4.
 λογευτής. 11. 26.
 λόγος. 2. 36, 39, 48.
 λοιδορεῖν. 2. 18.
 λοιπός, —. 1. 14; 13. 5; 23.
εαρε.
 μέρος. 8. 12; 9. 4.
 Μεσορή. 24. 7, 15, 22; 29. 4, 11.
 μετανοεῖν. 6. 3.
 μεταπέμπειν. 10. 11.
 μετέχειν. 16. 4.
 μετρεῖν. 11. 4; 14. 2.
 μετρητής. 8. 14.
 Μεχείρ. 24. 4, 13, 19.
 μηδείς. 6. 5; 9. 11; 11. 4.
 μῆν. 2. 4, 14, 31, 32; 7. 12.
 μίσθωσις. 23. *εαρε*.
 μοσχοτρόφος. 22. 44.
 νιτρικά. 24. 24.
 νομή. 26. 8.
 νόμος. 1. 12; 2. 44, 45; 7. 15.
 νομός. 2. 4, 7, 16, 32; 9. 1.
 νότος. 9. 3.
 ὄδε. 2. 8, 11, 12, 28.
 οἰκία. 2. 16, 17.
 οἰκονόμος. 20. 4.
 οἶμαι. 6. 2.
 οἰνικός. 15. 5.
 οἶνος. 8. 14.

ὄλυρα. 25. 2, 4, 6; 26. *Introd.*
 ὄνος. 1. 25.
 ὄπως. 8. 4.
 ὄρφανός. 17. 3.
 ὄσος. 2. 42, 43.
 ὅτι. 2. 14.
 οὐθείς. 6. 2; 29. 9, 35, 40, 42.
 οὖν. 5. 15; 10. 10.
 οὗτος. 2. 18, 35; 10. 12; 20. 3;
 21. 10.
 οὕτως. 2. 20.
 ὀφείλημα. 20. 3.
 παραγίνεσθαι. 2. 17; 5. 6.
 παραδείσος. 8. 8.
 παραδίδοναι. 2. 40.
 παρῆναι. 2. 23, 36, 37.
 παρέχειν. 6. 3; 7. 2, 9.
 πᾶς. 2. 10; 13. 25.
 Παῦνι. 24. 21; 28. 3.
 Παχών. 2. 41; 6. 7; 7. 8; 24. 6,
 14, 20; 28. 1.
 πέμπειν. 21. 9.
 πεντακόσιοι. 7. 5.
 περιστερών. 13. 5.
 Περίτιος. 2. 14, 32.
 πίνειν. 1. 25.
 πλήν. 2. 10.
 ποιεῖν. 1. 9; 5. 18; 11. 6.
 ποιητή. 1. 4.
 πόλις. 19. 4.
 πολιτικός. 2. 44.
 πολλάκις. 2. 22.
 ποταμός. 1. 12.
 πρ(). 26. 5.
 πράξις. 7. 13.
 πράσσειν. 5. 17; 10. 9; 13. 4,
 24; 20. 3; 21. 5.
 προαιρεῖν. 10. 2.
 πρόβατον. 22. *εαρε*.
 προγράφειν. 2. 23; 7. 11; 8. 8,
 9, 13; 9. 2.
 πρόεδρος. 2. 4.
 προιστάναι. 8. 3, 7.
 προσάγγελμα. 8. 3, 6.
 προσεισέρχεσθαι. 28. 3.
 πρόσταγμα. 2. 8.
 πρότερον. 10. 8.
 πρὸ τοῦ. 5. 4.
 πρῶτος. 9. 4.
 πτύειν. 2. 20.
 πυρετεῖν. 5. 6.
 πυρός. 5. 11, 13; 11. 2; 16. 7;
 19. 6, 7; 23. *εαρε*; 25. *εαρε*;
 26. *εαρε*; 28. 2, 5; 29. *εαρε*.
 πυρσουρός. 22. 1.
 ῥόμβος. 1. 29.
 σαυτοῦ. 2. 14; 13. 27.
 σιτάριον. 4. 6.

σιτολόγος. 14. 8; 16. 12; 22. 1.
 σίτος. 4. 2.
 σπείρειν. 26. 4, 8.
 σπέρμα. 23. *εαερε*; 26. *εαερε*.
 σπονδή. 10. 5.
 στέφανος. 25. 5.
 στρατηγία. 2. 7.
 στρατιώτης. 19. 5.
 συγγραφή. 7. 4.
 συνθασθαι (?). 2. 48.
 σύμβολον. 1. 23; 11. 5.
 συνακολουθεῖν. 19. 5.
 συνεπακολουθεῖν. 15. 4.
 συνέχειν. 20. 2.
 σύνθεμα. 1. 26.
 συνιστάναι. 2. 41.
 συντάσσειν. 2. 46; 9. 7; 10. 11;
 21. 4.
 συντελεῖν. 10. 13.
 σώζειν. 1. 5, 22.
 σῶμα. 8. 12; 27. 15.
 τάσσειν. 2. 7.
 τάχος. 21. 10.
 τελετή. 1. 3.
 τέμνειν. 1. 4.
 τετάρτη. 10. 4.

τιθέναι. 2. 36, 39, 48.
 τίμημα. 2. 27.
 τοπάρχης. 28. 2; 21. 1.
 τόπος. 2. 18; 7. 7; 27. 15.
 τράγος. 1. 10, 13.
 τράπεζα. 20. 5.
 τρεῖς. 8. 10.
 τριακοντάρουρος, λ χ , 18. 2, 13.
 τρυγᾶν. 8. 14, v.
 Τῦβι. 24. 4, 12, 18; 29. 9, 7,
 35, 42.
 τυγχάνειν. 8. 12, 13.
 τύπτειν. 8. 12.
 ὑβρίζειν. 2. 25, 27.
 ὕβρις. 2. 27.
 ὑπάρχειν. 21. 7.
 ὑπερβολή. 6. 5.
 ὑπέρτης. 19. 4.
 ὑπόμνημα. 8. 1.
 ὑποτιθέναι. 8. 4.
 φαίνεσθαι. 10. 12.
 Φαμενώθ. 4. 4, 7; 24. 19.
 φάναι. 2. 19.
 φαραγοῦσθαι. 28. *Introd.*

Φαρμοῦθι. 4. 9; 12. 7; 18. 1;
 24. 5, 13, 20.
 Φαῶφι. 14. 2; 24. 8, 13; 29. 6,
 14, 20, 26, 32, 39, 45.
 φίλος. 1. 20.
 φορικόν. 25. 1.
 φόρος. 13. 20; 16. 3.
 φροντίζειν. 20. 4.
 φυλακή. 10. 8.
 φυλακτικόν. 28. *εαερε*; 27. 18;
 29. 18.
 φύλαξ. 8. 11.
 χαίρειν. 2. 8; 6. 1; 7. 1; 8. 2;
 13. 2; 15. 3; 20. 1; 21. 1.
 χαλκός. 7. 5; 20. 3, 4.
 χειριστής. 29. 2.
 χίλιοι. 7. 13.
 Χοίαχ. 24. 4, 12, 18; 29. 8, 16,
 19, 21, 28, 34, 41, 47.
 χόρτος. 5. 8.
 χρυσίον. 10. 4.
 χωματικόν. 3. 4, 9, 21.
 χωννύναι. 8. 5.
 ὥστε. 2. 20; 19. 4.



No. 2



No. 1



No. 2

DATE DUE

~~INTERLIBRARY LOAN~~

~~PHOTODUPLICATION~~

GAYLORD

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

~~PHOTODUPLICATION~~

GAYLORD

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

